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REPORT

ON

NATIVE PAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending the 17th July 1909.

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LIST OF NEWSPAPERS.

[As it stood on the 1st January 1909.]

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	BENGALI.				
1	"Anusilan"	Calcutta	Weekly ...	.....	1,000
2	"Bangabandhu" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Barendro Lall Mukerjee, age 27, Hindu.	500
3	"Bangabhumi" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Gets contributions from different writers.	
4	"Bangaratna" ...	Ranaghat ...	Do. ...	Kanai Lal Das, age 25, Karmokar	100
5	"Bangavasi"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Behari Lal Sarkar, age 52, Kayastha; Hari Mohan Mukerji, age 41, Brahmin; and Durga Das Lahiri.	15,000
6	"Bankura Darpan" ...	Bankura	Do. ...	Biswanath Mukerji, B.L	713
7	"Basumati"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Radhika Prosad Ghose, age 37, Hindu	13,000
8	"Bharat Chitra" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	... ..	
9	"Birbhum Hitaishi" ...	Suri	Do. ...	Rajranjan Sen, age 34, Baidya ...	300
10	"Birbhum Varta" ...	Do.	Do. ...	Debendra Nath Chakravarti, age 36, Brahmin.	300
11	"Burdwan Sanjivani" ...	Burdwan	Do. ...	Prabodhananda Sarkar	950
12	"Chinsura Vartavaha" ...	Chinsura	Do. ...	Dinanath Mukerji, age 42, Brahmin ...	650
13	"Daily Hitavadi" ...	Calcutta	Daily ...	.....	
14	"Dainik Chandrika" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Hari Dass Dutt, age 37, Kayastha ...	200
15	"Dharma-o-Karma" ...	Ditto	Monthly ...	.....	
16	"Education Gazette" ...	Chinsura	Weekly ...	Shibnath Bannerji, M.A., B.L.	1,500
17	"Ekata"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Nafur Chandra Sarkar, age 35, Kayastha.	1,250
18	"Hitavadi"	Ditto	Do. ...	Panch Kowri Banerji, Jaladhar Sen, age 46, Hindu; and Jogendra Kumar Chatterjee of Chandragore, and Manindranath Bose of Chitta.	30,000
19	"Hindusthan"	Ditto	Do. ...	Hari Das Dutt, age 37, Kayastha ...	1,000
20	"Howrah Hitaishi" ...	Howrah	Do. ...	Gishpaty Kabyatirtha, age 36, Kayastha.	3,500
21	"Jagaran"	Bagerhat ...	Do. ...	Behari Lal Roy, age 45, Kayastha; Beni Madhab Ganguly, age 35, Brahmin; and Monmotha Nath Roy, age 32, Brahmin.	600
22	"Jasohar"	Jessore	Do. ...	Ananda Mohan Chaudhury, age 34, Kayastha	500
23	"Kalyani"	Magura	Do. ...	Biseswar Mukherjee, age 45, Brahmin; and Tarak Brahma Sikdar, Kayastha.	1,200
24	"Khulnavasi"	Khulna	Do. ...	Gopal Chandra Mukerjee, age 50, Brahmin.	300
25	"Manbhum"	Purulia	Do. ...	Bagola Chandra Ghosh, age 36, Kayastha.	300
26	"Matribhumi"	Chandernagore ...	Do. ...	Surendra Nath Sen, age 32, Hindu ...	500
27	"Mihir-o-Sudhakar" ...	Calcutta	Do. ...	Sayyid Osman of Basirhat, age 35; and Maulvi Reyazuddin Ahmad of Kareya.	4,000
28	"Murshidabad Hitaishi" ...	Saidabad	Do. ...	Bonwari Lal Goswami, age 44, Brahmin.	100
29	"Nadia"	Krishnagar ...	Do. ...	Susil Kumar Maitra, age 28, Brahmin.	800
30	"Navajivani-o-Swadeshi Christian."	Calcutta	Tri-Weekly ...	Revd. Lall Behari Shah, age 50, Native-Christian.	300
31	"Nayak"	Ditto	Daily and Bi-Weekly.	.....	500
32	"Nihar"	Contai	Weekly ...	Madhu Sudhan Jana, age 49	300
33	"Nivedan"	Calcutta	Do. ...		
34	"Pallivarta"	Bongong	Do. ...	Charu Ch. Roy, age 35, Kayastha ...	400
35	"Pallivasi"	Kalna	Do. ...	Sosi Bhusan Banerji, age 43, Brahmin	600
36	"Prachar"	Calcutta	Monthly ...		
37	"Prasun"	Katwa	Weekly ...	Purna Chandra Chatterji, age 43; and Banku Behari Ghose, age 38, Goala.	500
38	"Pratikar"	Berhampore ...	Do. ...	Kamakhya Prosad Ganguli, age 30, Brahmin.	100
39	"Prava"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Mahendra Nath Chakravarti, age 39, Brahmin.	300
40	"Prabhat"	Ditto	Do. ...	Sailendra Nath Chatterjee, age 26, Brahmin.	300
41	"Purulia Darpan" ...	Purulia	Do. ...	Amulya Ratan Chatterjee, age 37, Brahmin.	300
42	"Ratnakar"	Asansol	Do. ...	Rakhal Chandra Chakravarti, age 26, Brahmin; and Gopal Chandra Mittra, age 26, Kayastha.	500
43	"Samaj Darpan" ...	Salkia	Do. ...	Satya Charan Banerjee, age 28, Brahmin.	1,300
44	"Samay"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Ganendra Nath Das, age 54, Brahmin	300
45	"Sanmilani"	Serampore ...	Do. ...		

LIST OF NEWSPAPERS—*concluded.*

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	BENGALI—*concld.*				
46	"Samvad Purnachandrodaya"	Calcutta	Daily ...	Purna Chandra Ghattak, age 45, Brahmin.	50
47	"Sanjivani"	Ditto	Weekly ...	Shiva Nath Sastri and Ramananda Chatterjee.	7,000
48	"Sevika"	Diamond Harbour ...	Monthly ...		
49	"Soltan"	Calcutta	Weekly ...	Moulvi Muhammad Monirazzam of Chittagong.	1,500
50	"Sonar Bharat" ...	Howrah	Do. ...	Baikunta Das Gupta, age 35, Baidya	3,000
51	"Sri Sri Vishnu Priya-o-Ananda Bazar Patrika."	Calcutta	Do. ...	Rasik Mohan Chakravarti, age 37, Brahmin.	2,000
52	"Swadesh"	Ditto	Do. ...	S. C. Lahiri, Pat. Lovett and Pundit Baijnath Bidyanidhi.	500
53	"Tamalika"	Tamluk	Do. ...	Sita Nath Mondal, age 26, Hindu ...	900
54	"Twenty-four Parganas Vartavaha."	Bhawanipur ...	Do. ...	Hem Chandra Nag, age 26, Kayastha	500
	HINDI.				
55	"Bharat Mitra" ...	Calcutta	Weekly ...	Mahabir Prosad, age 35, Vaisya; and Amrito Lal Chakravarti, age 46, Brahmin.	3,200
56	"Bihar Bandhu" ...	Bankipore ...	Do. ...	Nanda Kumar Sharma, age 35, Kayastha.	500
57	"Bir Bharat"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Prantosh Dutta, age 35, Kayastha ...	500
58	"Ghar Bandhu" ...	Ranchi	Fortnightly ...	Rev. E. Muller, Superintendent, G. E. L. Mission, Ranchi.	1,000
59	"Gyanoday"	Calcutta	Monthly ...	.....	
60	"Jain Gajat"	Arrah	Weekly ...	Printed and Published in the United Provinces.	
61	"Jain Pataka"	Calcutta	Monthly ...	.....	
62	"Hindi Bangavasi" ...	Ditto	Weekly ...	Hari Kissen Joahar, age 30, Khettri	4,000
63	"Hitavarta"	Ditto	Do. ...	Rao Purandkar, age 29, Mahratta Brahmin.	3,000
64	"Lakshmi Upadesh Lahri"	Gaya	Monthly ...	.....	
65	"Marwari"	Calcutta	Do. ...	R. K. Tebrevala, age 34, Hindu Agarwalla.	500
66	"Marwari Bandhu" ...	Ditto	Weekly ...	.....	
67	"Narsingha"	Ditto	Monthly ...	.....	
68	"Sikaha"	Bankipore ...	Weekly ...	Gohkaran Singh, age 38, Babhan ...	255
	PERSIAN.				
69	"Roznama-i-Mukaddas-Hablul Matin."	Calcutta	Weekly ...	Syed Jalaluddin Alq Husaini, Muhammadan.	
	URDU.				
70	"Ayini-i-chatar Gupt" ...	Bankipore ...	Do. ...	.....	
71	"Al Panch"	Ditto	Do. ...	.....	
72	"Bihar Gazette" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Muhammad Murad Ali Khan, age 42,	250
73	"Dar-us Sultanat" ...	Calcutta	Do. ...	Quasi Abdul Latif, age 35, Muhammadan.	200
74	"Khawah Mokhab Panch"	Gaya	Do. ...	.....	
	URIYA.				
75	"Garjatbasini"... ...	Talcher	Do. ...	Bhagi Ruth Misra, age 40, Brahmin.	
76	"Manorama"	Baripada	Do. ...	...	
77	"Nilachal Samachar" ...	Puri	Do. ...	Baidya Nath Singh, age 31, Panjabi	600
78	"Sambalpur Hitaishini" ...	Bamra	Do. ...	Dinabandhu Padhan	500
79	"Samvad Vahika" ...	Balasore	Do. ...	Harish Chandra Sarkar, age 52, Sadgop.	700
80	"Uriya and Navasamvad" ...	Cuttack	Do. ...	Ram Tarak Sen, age 47, Tamuli ...	800
81	"Utkal Darpan" ...	Sambalpur ...	Do. ...	.....	
82	"Utkal Dipika" ...	Cuttack	Do. ...	Gauri Sankar Roy, age 75	500
83	"Utkal Sakti" ...	Calcutta	Do. ...	.....	
84	"Utkal Varta" ...	Ditto	Do. ...	Moni Lall Moherana, age 45, Hindu Karmokar.	

Additions to, and alterations in, the list of Vernacular Newspapers.

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
	Bengali.				
5A	"Bangla"	Santipur	Weekly ...	.....	.....
26A	"Medini Bandhav" ...	Midnapore ...	Do. ...	.....	.....
	Hindi.				
54A	"Bharat Bandhu" ...	Calcutta	Weekly ...	.....	.....
68A	"Tirhut Samachar" ...	Muzaffarpur ...	Do. ...	Jaganand Kumar	.....
	Urdu.				
74A	"Najmul Akhbar" ...	Calcutta	Weekly ...	S. M. Nasim Husain	.....
74B	"Star of India" ...	Arrah	Do. ...	Zahurul Haque	.....
	Bengali.				
47	"Sandhya"	Calcutta	Do. ...	Ceased to exist	.....

I.—Foreign Politics.

Namai Muqaddas Hablul Matin, July 8th, 1909.

The *Namai Muqaddas Hablul Matin* [Calcutta] of the 5th July has the following on the present situation in Persia :—

Situation in Persia.

Dark clouds are just now hanging over the Persian horizon, and a great revolution is apprehended by its people on account of the changes which, it is feared, are likely to take place in the policy of the European Powers. There can be no doubt that the object of the Tsar in seeking an interview with the Kaiser was to settle the only burning question of the day, viz., that of Persia.

The Persians should never imagine that the English will object to the Russian encroachments in the North and North-West Persia on account of the geographical division of the country agreed to by them ; for, whatever control or right Russia may be able to obtain or establish over Northern Persia, it will serve the English as a precedent for their own encroachments in Southern Persia. Indeed the English have resorted to a clever policy for gaining their own object throgh the instrumentality of the Russians, who will have to bear all the blame and to meet all sorts of obstacles, both external and internal, in their way. A minute observation will show that since the formation of the Anglo-Russian Convention, England and Russia have been marching at an equal pace in respect of affairs in Persia, so much so that they may be held to be equally responsible for the subversion of the Persian Parliament. One (Russia) professes herself in favour of the nation (Shah ?); while the other (England) calls herself the supporter of the nation, in order to prevent the Shah as well as the nation from despairing of their help and going over to other rival Powers. They have thus been playing their game unmolested, the only difference between them being that Russia is hasty in action, while England is patient.

The Ottoman movements in Azerbaijan, supposed to owe their birth to the German influence, have been giving considerable anxiety to the English and the Russians.

It is not yet known how far the Kaiser has approved of the wishes of the Tsar about the Persian affairs during the last interview; but Russia's recent acts of folly in Azerbaijan and her readiness to send her forces to Teheran go to show that the result of the interview between the two Emperors is to prove disastrous to Persia. As the Turks are involved in the Cretan question, they cannot give their full attention to Azerbaijan, as is evident from the fact that they did not offer any resistence to the Russians at the time of their sending 150 Cossacks with two guns to Urumia. It is true that Turkey will not be able to stand against Russia in Azerbaijan, if Germany lends her support to the latter ; but it is not possible that Germany will allow Russia to make enroachments on Azerbaijan, although she may possibly instigate Russia to insult England by meddling with Khorasan.

Dainik Chandrika, July 9th, 1909.

2. The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes:—

Disorder in Persia and the opportunity of Foreign Powers to consolidate their power there.

The Nationalists of Persia have become the enemies of the Royal Party. The Russian Bear too has not let slip this opportunity, and has now been consolidating its power in North Persia, taking possession of one town after another. The British Power will not remain silent; and will in its turn be obliged to bring about peace in the southern portion of the country. It may be hoped that peace will thus be well-established in Persia. The Nationalists wish to increase the popular power, but both the popular and the royal power will fall into the hands of Russia and England.

Mihir-o-Sudhakar, July 9th, 190[illegible].

3. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 9th July publishes a contributed article, in which the writer apprehends the establishment of a Republic in Turkey, with a Christian President at its head. It is at the instigation of the Christian Powers of Europe, who will be very glad to see all traces of the Muhammadan Empire in Turkey removed from Europe, that the party of yonng Turks have dethorned Sultan Abdul Hamid, and who knows whether they will not let

Turkey.

themselves be played into the hands of the European Powers a litle more, and thereby put an end to the solidarity of the Ottoman Empire which has ever been held sacred by the entire Moslem world.

HITVARTA, July 8th, 1909.

European Powers strengthening themselves.

4. To the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July the increase in their armaments by the European Powers, Germany being a little more forward than others, with professions of their love for peace, is a mystery difficult to solve.

II.—HOME ADMINISTRATION.

(*a*)—*Police.*

MEDINI BANDHAV, July 6th, 1909,

Gambling dens in a village in the Midnapore district.

5. A correspondent of the *Medini Bandhav* [Midnapore] of the 6th July reports that there are three gambling dens in the Kesiari village, where gambling goes on under the eyes of the police.

NIHAR. July 6th, 1909,

Punitive police in Contai.

6. The *Nihar* [Contai] of the 6th July says, that a number of constables belonging to the punitive police, which is quartered in the villages within the jurisdiction of Bhagawanpur Thana, in the Contai Subdivision, went on the 24th June last to the *hât* which is held in the village of Srikrishnapur (in the Tamluk Subdivision), and severely assulted a woman who was selling brinjals, because she refused to let them have the whole of her stock for only four pice. The man in charge of the *hât* was also assaulted, because he intervened on behalf of the poor woman. This gave rise to a disturbance in the *hât*, and several persons received serious injuries. A complaint was laid in the Tamluk Court, but was rejected. On the next day the Inspector in charge of the Punitive Police force came to the *hât* accompanied by eighteen constables, and assaulted people indiscriminately. The man in charge of the *hât* and several other gentlemen were detained in the *hât*, and were very severely assulted. The matter is now under inquiry. The shop-keepers of the *hât* have to provide rations for about 25 members of the Punitive Police force.

The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 8th July also publishes similar allegations against the punitive police in Contai.

NAYAK, June 7th, 1909.

Graduates in the Police Service.

7. The fact that several graduates are among the cadets in the Ranchi Police Training School, is in the opinion of the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 7th July conclusive proof how people can sacrifice their sense of honour, simply in order to secure appointments in the Police Service where they can wield enormous power.

JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909,

The Arms Act in Patna.

8. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July writes that the recent action of the Magistrate of Patna, in withdrawing some of the gun-licenses in the district, though meant for the better preservation of the public peace, will probably work the other way, for the presence of these weapons in the houses of the wealthy acted as a deterrent on intending dacoits.

NAYAK, July 3rd, 1909.

The Police harassing four young men of Sinti, in Hooghly.

9. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 8th July writes:—

The four young men of the village of Sinti, who were arrested by the police on suspicion of being connected with the Morehal Dacoity, have all been acquitted by the Sessions Judge of H ooghly. But they are still being shadowed by the police, who have issued a rule against the youths to show cause why they should not execute bonds to be of good behaviour for three years. Sections 107 and 110 are very effective weapons in the hands of the police. The late Upadhyaya used to say: "If other sections be inapplicable, they will apply sections 107 and 110".

TIRHUT SAMACHAR, July 8th, 1909,

The conduct of the Magistrate of Monghyr.

10. The *Tirhut Samachar* [Muzaffarpur] of the 8th July reads in the *Bengali* that the Magistrate of Monghyr has prohibited the holding of a meeting at the Ram Lila ground by the general public for voting an address of welcome to the Lieutenant-Governor who is about to visit

the town because they wanted to enter into it a protest against the water-works scheme. The paper calls the conduct of the Magistrate illegal, but awaits the decision of His Honour during his tour to Monghyr.

HITAVADI, July 9th, 1909.

Inspector Chandra Kanta Dam.

11. Now that the inquiry into the Barrah case has closed, says the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July, will the Secretary of State institute an inquiry into the doings of Babu Chandra Kanta Dam?

DAILY HITAVADI, July 10th, 1909.

Posting of threatening placards along the Eastern Bengal State Railway.

12. Referring to the posting of placards presumably by the Anarchists at all stations along the Eastern Bengal State Railway from Sealdah to Barrackpore, announcing that fresh bombs will be thrown into Railway trains, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July asks if the placards were posted by mischievous people simply to cause a flutter in the ranks of the police.

BANGAVASI, July 10th, 1909.

Rumoured quartering of a Punitive Police force at Fatehjungpur, in Faridpur.

13. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes:—

A rumour is afloat at Dacca that a Punitive Police force is going to be quartered at Fatehjungpur, in Faridpur, because the brother of the approver Gabesh Chandra Chatterjee was murdered in that village. Additional Police forces are required in those places where the ordinary police are unable to detect culprits. Therefore, ought not the salaries paid to the additional forces be met by deductions from the salaries of the egularr ones?

BASUMATI, July 10th, 1909.

The Inspector of Saidpur Thana and two sheep-dealers.

14. Referring to the recent prosecution of two sheep-dealers for bringing a false charge against the Inspector of Saidpur Thana (in Rangpur), the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July takes exception to the inquiry into the matter having been delegated to some Police officers. It has been held by no less an authority than Mr. Justice Alston of the Allahabad High Court, than the inquiries into such cases ought never to be entrusted to Police officers, and the paper invites the attention of the Government to the procedure followed in the above-mentioned case.

BANGAVASI, July 10th, 1909, etc.

The Police Report of Calcutta.

15. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes:—

With reference to the murder of Inspector Nanda Lal Banerjee, the Commissioner of Police, Calcutta, has stated in his report on the Police administration of Calcutta, that though the crime was committed in a bazar and four shots were fired, yet the people did not turn up to arrest the culprit. He further says that the policemen who came to the scene, afterwards found all the shops closed, and did not get any help from the few people who were found out by them. So, the police having been unable to arrest the culprits, Mr. Halliday is angry with the common people of the bazar. Does he mean that they should have told a lie when they did not really know anything of the matter? It is also a matter for consideration why the shop-keepers should have shut their shops at the very mention of the name of the police.

Reviewing the Police Administration Report of Bengal for the last official year, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 10th July observes as follows:—

One is surprised to read the report, for along with the account of the Bomb conspiracy, murder of Narendra Gosain, the Muzaffarpur murders and the assassination of Inspector Nund Lal Banerjea, one finds a complaint that the people did not give any assistance which would lead to the arrest of the murderer of Nund Lal Banerjea. In extolling the police work in this connection it is said that words cannot be found to express adequately the good work done by the police in such trying times. Indeed! alas! expressions like these might become the mouth of Sir Andrew Fraser, the friend of the police. How have they found utterance from Sir Baker?

Although Nund Lal Banerjea was murdered in the midst of a bazar, not a single soul, says the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] ot the 12th July, came to the spot to help the police in its investigation. Nay, the shopkeepers closed their shops and made themselves scarce. Those caught hold of by the police denied all knowledge of the incident and hence, the report says, the police could not arrest the culprits. Mr. Halliday is, therefore, very angry with them; but the

question is why the people ran away from the spot at the very approach of the police. Would Mr. Halliday be pleased to answer it?

BANGAVASI, July 10th, 1909.

16. Babu Ambica Charan Gupta continuing his article headed "Why are the police abused?" in the *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes:—

The Police.

Many people do not at all like police inquiries, as these lead to the harassment of the complainant and may cause the case itself to take a bad turn. If this be true, then it it will be better if the police have not to investigate unimportant cases, they being empowered to enquire only into serious cases, such as dacoity, murder and theft. It should now be ascertained what are the petty offences which are now cognizable by the police, but which if made non-cognizable will relieve the police of much of their work and the people of oppression at their hands. Let us now take a case in which A mercilessly beats B, though not with a stick or a weapon. A constable who stands by will not interfere, because the offence committed falls either under section 323 or under section 352, Indian Penal Code, both of which classes the case as a non-cognizable one. Though the constable is not empowered to take cognizance of this case, yet he is fully empowered to arrest and send up a man on the less serious charge of striking a cow worth Rs. 10 belonging to another man with a brick-bat and thus laming her. Now, though the accused will be convicted only if he render the cow permanently lame, yet the constable is empowered to arrest him if the cow be found to limp, the reason being that the offence is stated in section 428, Indian Penal Code to be one cognizable by the police. Again, if a robber extorts a large sum of money from a person as ransom for his son by confining the latter, the ruffian though committing such a heinous offence will not be committing an offence cognizable by the police as contemplated in section 384. Thus it is clear how some petty offences are cognizable by the police, while others more serious are not. It may be conjectured that those offences only are made cognizable which require immediate action to be taken for the arrest of the culprits, who may otherwise escape detection thereby preventing the recovery of the stolen articles, and for the proper conduct of the case. If this supposition be true, then the offence described in section 384 ought certainly to be made cognizable and that described in section 426 a non-cognizable one. Offences described in sections 406, 407, 408, 447, 448, 430, 461, 462 and others should also be made non-cognizable.

BANGAVASI, July 10th, 1909.

17. The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July says that the higher authorities are for the most part responsible for the oppressions committed by the police during investigations of cases. The District Magistrates who are the masters of the police oftentimes guide them. It happens also that in many cases the police themselves manage to mislead the Magistrates. It is the strict order of the higher authorities that the culprit must be arrested anyhow. Therefore, the police charge whomsoever they like with offences. So the principal abuse in the Police Department is found in the conduct of investigations.

Police investigations.

(b)— Working of the Courts.

NAYAK, July 4th, 1909.

18. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 4th July writes deprecatingly of the action of the Courts in punishing begging in public in this country, pointing out how Hindu ideas on the subject are diametically opposed to English ideas, which confine charity love, religion, activity, everything within the groove of the law, leaving no room for spontaneity.

Penalising public begging.

DAINIK CHANDRIKA, July 7th, 1909.

19. Referring to the sanction accorded to the appointment of an additional Judge in the High Court for a period of one year, the *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 7th July writes:—

Indian Judges of the High Court.

Is it not better to confer the additional Judgship on an Indian? Is it just to put the names of Indian Barrister-Judges in the list of Indian judges, and not in that of Barrister Judges? Similarly when appointing an Indian Civilian as a judge he should be considered as a Civilian. Indian lawyers, properly speaking, mean only the graduates in law of the Indian Universities

and when the law reserving some seats on the Bench for the Indians, was enacted, certainly the Indian Vakils and not the Indian Barristers or Civilians were meant.

Crime in Bengal and the courts.

20. In pointing out that 2,319 men were punished by the courts last year in Bengal for offences against the State and the public peace, the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes :— NAYAK. July 10th, 1909.

They who have the power to punish may, by a stroke of the pen, imprison the entire population of the country.

The case of Ethiraj S. N. Arya.

21. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 8th July writes that the evidence taken by the court shows that Ethiraj S. N. Arya was goaded to attempting suicide by uncommon oppression. And yet the Judicial Administration of the English gives him four months' extra jail for this attempt. Did not the Magistrate think it necessary to reflect once what terrible anguish it must have been which prompted Ethiraj to do this deed? SANJIVANI, July 8th, 1909.

A case at Chittagong

22. In commenting on the sentence of 10 years' imprisonment passed on Hari Charan Banerji for the attempted murder of Mr. Coxwell of Chittagong, the *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July writes :— JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909.

The Judge professed to call this a light sentence. If the accused had been a European, would the Judge have inflicted this sentence even in a mood of particular hardness?

A complaint against a Munsiff.

23. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July reports that Mr. Chatterji, 2nd Munsiff of Comilla, lately fined one of his Mukhtears, Basanta Babu by name, for contempt of court. Since then, Vakils, Mukhtears and Revenue Agents have been boycotting his Court, with the result that suitors are losers. The Munsiff is meanwhile admitting written applications and depositions without indetification. What will be the end of it all? JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909.

The Lajpat Rai Libel case.

24. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July warmly extols Mr. Justice Fletcher's judgment in the Lajpat Rai Libel case as impartial and just, and hopes that its effect will be to restrain the publication of anti-Indian effusions in the Anglo-Indian press, effusions which are largely responsible for the present unrest. JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909, etc., etc.

The judgment of Mr. Fletcher in Lala Lajpat Rai *vs.* the *Englishman*, says the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July, has given satisfaction to the public. Without such punishments the Anglo-Indian papers would not come to their senses.

The *Bir Bharat* [Calcutta] of the 11th July also has the same remark.

The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July is pleased with Mr. Justice Fletcher's decision in the civil case brought against the *Englishman* by Lajpat Rai firstly because it proves that though Lala Lajpat Rai is a black man who was deported by the Government, his honour has some value, secondly because it has brought home to the Indian public the fact that the whites are not to abuse us as much as they like, simply because we are a subject people, and thirdly it has removed from the minds of the Indian public the erroneous notion that the *Englishman* was above the laws of the land, and that it could write anything and everything it liked, as indeed it had so long been doing with impunity. The *Englishman* has all along been slandering and blaspheming everything Indian, and it has given the public not a little satisfaction that its pride has received a smart check. As long as impartial justice is dealt out in the British law courts as is now being done by Sir Lawrence Jenkins and Mr. Justice Fletcher, the foundations of the British Empire will remain fully secure. The punishment of the *Englishman* proves that Anglo-Indian journalists are no more to abuse Indians. Some Englishmen are of opinion that they can never commit sedition, for it is their interest to support the Government. Is it not then the interest of the blacks to support the Government? How is it then that the blacks are called fellow-citizens by the whites? The whites may be enemies of the British rule as much as the blacks. Are not those Englishmen who supplied ammunition to the Boers during the Boer War and who even now sell rifles to the Pathans, enemies of the British Raj? There

are some Englishmen who think that they can lord it over us since they are members of the ruling race. But we refuse to accept every individual Englishman as our master.

Referring to the result of the case of Lala Lajput Rai *vs.* the *Englishman*, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 10th July says:—

One can bear the heat of the sun's rays, but not so the sand heated by them. We honour the King, but if a sweeper of the Royal household expects the same honour where has one got to afford it? Hitherto the Anglo-Indian papers priding to belong to the ruling race have been thrusting their dagger into the hearts of high class Indians, so much so that the impression has almost gained ground that there was no justice in the courts of the English for the Indians, but the judgment of Justice Fletcher has shown that we are living in the British rule. Should the position of the Anglo-Indians be changed so that they may understand that they are equal to the Hindus in the eyes of the king it would be to the advantage of us both.

The *Jagaran* [Bagerhat] of the 11th July says that the judgement of the High Court in the defamation suit brought by Lala Lajpat Rai against the *Englishman* has given universal satisfaction. It is hoped that the *Englishman* will now come to its senses.

BHARAT MITRA, July 10th, 1909.

Mr. Jackson.

25. Seeing that Mr. Jackson has again honoured the High Court by his presence, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 10th July says that Mr. Jackson was compelled some time ago to retire on account of the state of things prevailing in that Court for some time. Now that every one has to bow down to Sir Lawrence Jenkin's great personality, Mr. Jackson appeared before His Lordship's Court on Monday last.

(c)—Jails.

HITVARTA, July 8th, 1909, etc.

Ethiraj Surendra Nath Arya in jail.

26. It appears to the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July that Ethiraj Surendra Nath Arya is receiving very bad treatment in Jail. Even opium is placed under his pillow to put him to trouble.

The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes that if what Ethiraj Surendra Nath Arya recently stated in Court regarding his treatment in jail be true, even partially, nothing can be more disgraceful. Government should make an inquiry into the matter. Nothing can be more mean and cowardly than to strike at a man who is already dead, so to speak, and who cannot hit back.

Adverting to the allegations of ill-treatment made against the Jail authorities by Ethiraj Surendra Nath Arya, the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July asks the Madras Government to institute an enquiry into the matter.

The *Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July wants to know what order was passed on the complaint that was made by Ethiraj Surendra Nath to the authorities of ill treatment in jail.

HOWRAH HITAISHI, July 10th, 1909.

Solitary imprisonment of under-trial prisoners.

27. Referring to the allegations that Sasi Kumar Sarkar, an absconded accused in the Barrah Dacoity case, on being arrested, has been put in solitary confinement in jail, the *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 10th July says that although the High Court has condemned the practice of keeping under-trial prisoners in solitary confinement, it seems, nevertheless, to prevail still as freely as ever.

CHINSURA VARTAVAHA, July 11th, 1909.

The teaching of technical arts in jails.

28. In a leading article the *Chinsurah Vartavaha* [Chinsurah] of the 11th July draws the attention of Government to the importance of the teaching of technical arts to the prisoners in jails. The oil-pressing machine, the dreadful *ghani*, which the prisoners are required to drive, is a form of penal labour which does little credit to the civilised British Government. It is doubtful whether such a terrible punishment is inflicted on prisoners in any other country in the world. Men are not cattle, and cannot therefore be expected to work at the *ghani* like cattle. Moreover such a punishment is little short of death to prisoners of the *bhadralog* class.

Arrangments for the making of blankets, *moras*, mats, chairs, etc., no doubt exist in many jails, but are not sufficient. Most of the prisoners are employed in doing earthwork and other forms of hard work, which may sometimes be necessary in the case of turbulent prisoners of the low classes, but are wholly unsuitable to prisoners of the *bhadrolog* class. The *ghani* should be abolished altogether. Steps should be taken for a larger introduction of technical labour. The printing press should be introduced in every jail. Painting may be also introduced with advantage. Lord Ripon was against a larger introduction of technical labour in jails, being of opinion that it would harm the lower class prisoners by unfitting them for the task of earning their livelihood when they returned to their homes. This is a mistake. The prisoners would teach their neighbours the arts they learned in the jail. The authorities of the Hooghly Jail should see that the printing press is introduced in the jail.

(d)—*Education.*

29. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 8th July dwells on the hardship being caused to many students who have lately passed the University Entrance examination from being refused admmission into the affiliated Colleges for lack of accommodation. Students taking up chemistry are the worst sufferers from this cause. The University should temporarily relax the rule fixing 150 as the maximum number of students for each class.

SANJIVANI, July 8th 1909.

A University complaint.

The wishes of Lord Curzon to check education have at last, says the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July, been fulfilled since such students alone receive admission into first-grade colleges as have passed their examination in the first division. The students who pass in the second or third division and mean to take up science have to go without education since second grade colleges where they can take admission make no provision for teaching it.

The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 8th July writes:—

About 150 students have passed the Entrance Examination from the district of Chittagong this year, but under the new arrangements not even half of them will be allowed to read in the Chittagong College, the cases of students coming from different districts being out of the question. Though the Intermediate course has been bifurcated into Arts and Science courses, yet the students are not allowed to make their own choice. There will be no arrangement for the teaching of Logic, and only six students will be allowed to read Chemistry, although about 70 applications from students eager to read the subject have been received. Most of the students are willing to read Literature, Logic, History and Sanskrit; but there being no arrangement for teaching these subjects, the students are being compelled to take up Mathematics. Surely the result will not be satisfactory if a student be compelled to read a subject for which he has no taste.

30. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes:—

DAILY HITAVADI, July 10th, 1909.

Second language at the Matriculation Examination.

Many students in Bengal took to the study of Bengali and Persian (Urdu?) not knowing that the Entrance examination of 1909 was to be the last examination under the old regulations for which they could take one of those subjects as second language. Those candidates who are unsuccessful this year will have to study Sanskrit or Persian, if they intend to appear in the Matriculation Examination. These students took four years (from the 4th to the 1st class) to master Bengali or Persian (Urdu?), and it would be a great hardship to them to be compelled to learn the new subjects within a year before being allowed to appear at the Matriculation Examination of 1910. This portion of the New Regulations has been a matter of great hardship to the candidates who failed at the last Entrance Examination, as well as to those who were unsuccessful even at the Test Examination of their respective schools. It may be hoped, therefore, that the University authorities will allow such candidates to take up either Bengali or Persian (Urdu?) at the Matriculation Examination of 1910.

SANJIVANI, July 8th, 1909.

Mathematics classes at the Bethune College.

31. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 8th July thus argues against the alleged dicision of Mr. H. R. James, Officiating Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, against the appointment of a Professor of Mathematics in the Bethune College:—(1) The objection of increased expenditure is no valid objection, for Government is actually making increased outlay on several Colleges. (2) It is often said that only half-a-dozen students will benefit by the new appointment. True, but at the Sanskrit College some of the professors newly appointed for the B. A. classes will not have a larger number of pupils. Further, Mr. Küchler once admitted that five or six in a class, where the total number of pupils in the College is 40, is not an inconsiderable number. (3) Female students of this College showed very satisfactory results in Mathematics in the F. A. and in the B. A. classes, and though Mathematics was optional, many of the young ladies took it up. So it cannot be argued that Mathematics is an uncongenial subject for the pupils of this College. (4) It has been said that the Bethune College has not obtained affiliation in Mathematics from the University. But a perusal of the University minute shows that affiliation in Mathematics up to the Intermediate Standard was granted to this College on the 27th June 1908. And had there been more than one Professor in this subject at the College, then it is reasonable to expect that affiliation up to the B. A. Standard would also have been granted. It is stated that the Secretary of State has lately sanctioned 14 lakhs for strengthening the staffs of the Bengal Colleges. So there can be no question of want of funds now.

HITVARTA, July 8th, 1909.

Extra grant for Government Colleges.

32. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July thanks Government for sanctioning a lakh and-a-half of rupees for increasing the staff of Government Colleges in Bengal, and hopes the claims of Indians will not be overlooked.

HITAVADI, July 9th, 1909.

The Educational Bureau for Indian students in London.

33. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes that the members of the committee associated with the newly instituted Educational Bureau for Indian students in England do not possess the confidence of educated Indians, and if similar men are to compose the Provincial committees out here, those bodies are sure to prove failures. The entire success of the scheme will be jeopardised unless the members of those committees so conduct themselves as not to hurt the self-respect and patriotic feeling of the Indians.

HITVARTA, July 8th, 1909.

A representation.

34. The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July supports the memorial of Pandit Sakul Narayan Panday, the Secretary of the Arrah Nagri Pracharini Sabha, to the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, praying that Hindi be made a compulsory subject for the Bihar Sanskrit Sanjivan Examinations on grounds set forth in the memorial.

BASUMATI, July 10th, 1909.

Primary education.

35. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July is sorry to find that primary education in Bengal is about to be ruined. What with the Kindergarten system that is now in vogue, the paucity of good teachers who are scared away by the poor salaries which the authorities pay, and the introduction of text-books written by men who are by no means remarkable for their knowledge of the Bengali language and the Bengali literature, primary education in this province is no better than a huge farce. The paper, however, hopes that Sir Edward Baker will do away with the present system and rid the province of what may be said to be a pest.

SHIKSHA, July 8th, 1909.

District Boards and public libraries.

36. The *Shiksha* [Arrah] of the 8th July advocates legislation for empowering District Boards to contribute to public libraries.

(c)—*Local Self-Government and Municipal Administration.*

HITAVADI, July 9th, 1909.

The morgue in Calcutta.

37. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July draws the attention of the health authorities of Calcutta to the serious annoyance caused to the people living in the

neighbourhood of, or passing by, the morgue owing to the vehicles in which corpses are brought there being left standing in the street emitting a bad odour from not being daily washed with carbolic acid, phenyle, etc., according to rule.

39. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 14th July says that Babu Nilamber Mukerji, Vice-Chairman, ought to succeed Sir Charles Allen as Chairman of the Calcutta Municipality. If the rumour that Mr. Payne will succeed Sir Charles turns out to be true then the virtue of colour will be established beyond a shadow of doubt.

DAILY HITAVADI, July, 14th, 1909.

The Chairmanship of the Calcutta Municipality.

(*h*)—*General.*

40. In discussing the question of Musalman representation on the new enlarged Councils, the *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 4th July (received on the 8th July) writes:—

NAYAK, July 4th, 1909, etc. etc.

The question of Musalman representation.

God alone knows whether the Government of India will accede to the unjust and improper demands put forward by the recent deputation of Musalman leaders. In any case there is ample ground for apprehension furnished by the attitude of unreasonable exaction which the Musalmans have taken up, and by the unjust way in which Government has in the past unduly favoured that community in pursuance of a policy of sowing dissensions. The original proposals of Government in regard to this question of Musalman representation were sufficiently favourable to the community, but Musalmans were not pleased therewith. It is against the basic principles of British rule in India to favour unduly a particular community in matters political; and though this principle was set at nought partially in the original proposals of the Government of India in regard to this question, the non-Musalmans raised no protest, apprehensive only of the evils of domestic dissensions. But recent events show that Musalmans have misunderstood this high minded attitude. The plea put forward by the Musalmans is that their special interests require to be defended by Government. Why? That Musalmans are ignorant and uneducated, is the fault of Musalmans themselves. If their unreasonable claims in the present instance are not conceded, it will ultimately be for the good of Musalmans themselves, inasmuch as they will learn that in future they must educate themselves up to the standard of the other communities if they are to defend their interests.

The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 8th July writes that the uncivil language which the leaders of the Moslem League has used regarding the non-Moslem population of India and their political ideals and endeavours, foreshadows a speedy and complete fulfilment of the policy of sowing dissensions which Government has adopted in connexion with the question of Moslem representation.

The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes, that the manner, in which, for its own purposes, Government has begun to wait upon the pleasure and the temper of the Musalmans has had the effect of making the latter now demand rights far in excess of their old expectations. Lately six Musalman gentlemen went up to Simla in connection with these demands, who ridiculously professed to represent the entire body of the Musalman population of India—a population mostly sunk in illiteracy and divided as much and as irredeemably into castes and creeds as the Hindus, for all talk notwithstanding is marriage at all conceivable between, say, a Kazibash and a Labbya or a Moplah, however wealthy or virtuous the latter may be? And apart from this, what right have Musalmans to press for special favour, the concession of which by Government would be a shameful act of unjust partiality? It is all very well to talk of having nine Musalman Members on the Viceregal Legislative Council. But where are these members to come from? There is only a handful of respectable Musalman families in this Province, and, of them, some as the Mysore and Oudh families are Government pensioners, so that they cannot make independent Members of Council. Furthermore, middle class Musalman society, instead of flourishing, is decaying. Contrast this with the growing educational and material progress of the Hindus, and then declare

whether it is Hindus or Musalmans who ought to be mainly on the Viceroy's Council, if the presence of members on that body is to serve a useful, instead of merely an ornamental, purpose.

The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes :—

We are astonished to find the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* calling into question the right of the six Musalman gentlemen, who constituted the deputation, which recently waited on the Viceroy at Simla, to represent the entire Indian Musalman community. If Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee can pass himself as the representative of the Indian Press in the Imperial Press Conference, and if the Congress, which is composed of a handful of educated Indians can be called the Indian National Congress, we fail to see why these six Musalman gentlemen cannot be held to represent the entire Musalman population of India. So far no Musalman newspaper has taken any exception to these gentlemen representing the Indian Musalmans, nor can the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* show, the reasons on which it bases its objection to their doing so. The fact, again, that Aga Khan and Mr. Amir Ali are advocating the Moslem cause, is looked upon by that paper with anything but satisfaction, although it never fails to support anything that certain Members of Parliament do for the Hindus. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* also tries to prove that the caste system exists among Musalmans, because Shias and Sunnis are often at war during the Muharrum festival. We must say that our contemporary's labours in this direction only prove his own ignorance. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that nine seats on the Imperial Council have been asked for by the Musalman deputation; but according to Lord Morley's promises the Musalmans ought to have more than nine seats; for if men belonging to the lower castes are not counted as Hindus as they are now counted; the number of Musalmans becomes about one-third of that of the Hindus. Besides, if the political importance of the Musalmans is to be taken into consideration, they can in all fairness claim more than nine seats. Our contemporary, however, is at a loss to make out how these nine seats are to be filled up. We may tell him that the Musalman community is not wanting in well-educated men, who are fully qualified for admission into the Imperial Council, to say nothing of the descendants of noble families like those of the Nawab of Oudh and Tippu Sultan. It is idle to suppose that if a lower class Musalman be elected to the Imperial Council, it will cause heart-burning among the members of the higher classes.

The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 19th July is sorry to find that the Reform Scheme, which is a boon to the people of India, is going to be spoiled by the controversy regarding Musalman representation. The paper is sure that the authorities have committed a great blunder by following the narrow-minded policy of "divide and rule," and thus allowing the noble object of the Reform Scheme to be frustrated.

Sir Pheroz Shah Mehta, says the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 10th July, has spoken at last. In expressing his views before the Bombay Presidency Association on the excessive demands of the Musalmans in connection with the Reform Scheme, he only voiced the opinions of all the Indians, except the Musalmans. In inviting a number of Muhammadans only to the Conference at Simla, Government has trampled down its old principle of equal treatment of its subjects, the consequence of which will be very serious. If the selfishness of the Musalmans is bad, the readiness of Government to treat its other subjects differently by being so duped is worse. The paper is unable to understand what weakness led Government to slip from the right path.

In another place the same paper points out that if the number of Musalman representatives allowed in the Supreme Council be nine, that of the Hindus should be three times as many, considering the proportion of the latter to the former; to do otherwise would be partiality. The Musalmans call themselves loyal to Government; but the Hindus are no less loyal. Government should always bear in mind that nothing can cast a greater stain on Government than partiality.

The *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 12th July, in recognising that the Moslem demands regarding representation on the new Councils has reached its highest, if not really an acute, point, in the recent utterance of the Aga Khan on the subject in London, writes that the annoying feature in this utterance is its attempt to bring the Hindus under official displeasure as being

inferior in loyalty to Musalmans. His Highness wants to make it out to the English Ministers and the public that the Hindus monopolise authority here to the exclusion of Musalmans, who are the only friends of Government. The English people, however, recognise what the Aga's purposes are. Only those journals which would not have political rights for any section of the Indian population support His Highness. Intelligent Musalmans certainly understand all this, as they also recognise that ultimately Musalmans will be left in the lurch, so to speak, left in the same boat with Hindus, both without practically any serious political rights. The Aga Khan's claims of superior Musalman loyalty are disposed of by history, particularly the Syer-al-Mutakharin, which shows whether it was the Hindus or the Musalmans who throughout assisted in establishing British rule in this country. Again it is well known how any difference between the British Government and the Sultan of Turkey has always strained Moslem loyalty in India almost to a breaking point. To conclude, with Sir George Clarke and Sir Edward Baker opposing these impossible demands of the Moslems, we are confident that no injustice will be done to the Hindus.

Lord Morley's Reforms Scheme, says the *Hindi Bangavasi* [Calcutta] of the 12th July, has taken away the good sense of many an Indian. It has dazzled the Indians like the sudden light which breaks in upon a man who has been for some time in darkness, and made them impatient like one who has been starved for a long time. Those who lived like brothers till the other day and shared in one another's happiness and misery, have managed to forget their own kith and kin, being enchanted by these words of hope, and blinded by self-interest. Such has been the condition of the Muhammadans. The Musalman rulers made no distinction between the Hindus and the Muhammadans in giving them high appointments in the State. The Hindu officials were entrusted with the care of the Musalman subjects as much as of the Hindu, and this trust was never betrayed. At least the Musalman subjects never complained of their Hindu Governors, and the Musalman Kings had never to repent their choice of Hindu Governors.

Even the bigoted Emperor Aurangzeb appointed Hindu Governors, being convinced of their love of justice. Even to-day there are Hindu officials in Muhammadan States. The present Prime Minister of the Nizam of Hyderabad is a Hindu. Even the neighbouring kingdom of Afghanistan has many Hindu Governors, and it is said His Majesty the Amir has more confidence in his Hindu Governors than the Musalman Governors. The journal is aggrieved to find, that since the announcement of the Reform Scheme, many Indian Musalmans have cut off their connection with the Hindus and are trying to obtain more than their fair share of the Reforms fruit. Such being the case, it was the duty of the Hindus to patiently wait and see the result of this impatience of the Muhammadans; but many an impatient Hindu has commenced to protest against the activity of the Musalmans. There have been meetings on this account in Bengal, United Provinces, the Punjab, Bombay and Madras. Both the Hindus and the Muhammadans should deeply consider the baneful consequences of their disunion.

Referring to the statement reported to have been made by the Aga Khan in England to the effect that the Musalmans are willing to co-operate with the Hindus in the field of politics only if the latter will be unanimous that English supremacy in India is absolutely necessary for the country's good, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 14th July says it is simply ridiculous to hear a Musalman hinting the Hindus are not so much in favour of the maintenance of British rule in India as are the Musalmans. It was the Hindus who received English education and English civilisation first of all in this country. And their attachment to Englishmen and English civilisation cannot be surpassed by any other people.

40. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July says that most of the Civilians in Bengal are, it is rumoured, against the Reform Scheme and oblivious of the advice which Sir Edward Baker has given them. The prospect of losing their despotic powers has made them uneasy. It is madness to entrust these

The Reforms.

HITAVADI, July 9th, 1909.

gentlemen with the duty of governing the country to the satisfaction of the people.

The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July is not prepared to believe what the *Pioneer* says about the Civilians giving their consent to the Reform Scheme against their will. The Civilian rulers of India had the fullest opportunity given to them to express their opinions on the Reform Scheme, and the paper does not think it at all likely that they did not express their honest opinions out of a fear of incurring the Government's displeasure. It is simply impossible, says the *Basumati*, that strong-minded administrators like Sir John Hewett, Sir George Clarke, and Sir Louis Dane have acted against their own convictions, and the persons like the writer in the *Pioneer* who say that they have done so cast an undeserving aspersion on British rule, and are enemies to the Empire. These people try to incite ill-feelings between the officials and the people and ought, therefore, to be severely punished.

The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 11th July writes:—

Those who believe that Lord Morley's Reforms, far from giving us what we wanted, will add to our already existing miseries, are in our opinion wrong. We shall explain why.

The Government's real views have so long been a sealed book to us. Government reports and speeches by Governors are full of common-places, and are not at all an index to the underlying intentions of the rulers. They seemed so long to be unmoved by praise or censure. But since the day when the first case of sedition was instituted in Bombay in 1897, we have come to know that Government could feel; for the fact showed that if there was nothing which it showed a liking for, there certainly were things which it disliked. Again, when Sir Alexander Mackenzie praised the *Indian Spectator* and *Indian Nation* in the Imperial Legislative Council, we discovered that there were still left in this dreary land of India a few things which could please the rulers. We are, therefore, driven to the conclusion that the ruling community is not impervious to feeling; that it can be made to speak out its mind. Once Government begins to speak out freely, Lord Morley's Reform Scheme will help us in drawing it out so as to reveal its real intentions.

We consider this as a gain. Laws, good or bad, reach but a little way. Good or bad government of the country depends upon the good or bad intention of the rulers. As knaves are never in want of an excuse, so the good-natured always find opportunities to do good. The climatic conditions of India are however such as to make it impossible for the rulers to remain uniformly honest for ever; they make them insolent, intolerant of criticism and arrogant. We must, therefore, submit to the stings of the civilian wasps; also the British public may be favourably disposed towards us. What is beyond all remedy, should claim no alteration; but the temptation to derive some amusement even in the midst of suffering is irresistible. The introduction of Lord Morley's Reforms will supply us that amusement, and may also give us an insight into the utmost feelings of the Government. It is to the advantage of both parties that we should know each other thoroughly. Such an opportunity is likely to be afforded by the Reforms of Lord Morley, and we accord our support to them for this reason.

But there is a distinct loss which the reforms will occasion, and that is the permanent cleavage between the educated Hindu and Musalman communities. The breach will remain for ever, unless the Musalmans come to be oppressed by the Government for some unknown reason, in which case perhaps there may be some chance of a reconciliation.

The Musalmans find that they are going to reap the major part of the advantages which the Hindus have laboured hard to obtain from the Government, and cannot therefore afford to neglect the opportunity.

Friendly relations have subsisted between the Hindu and Musalman communities in the Hyderabad State during the last 70 years, and three Hindus have been appointed in succession as Prime Minister. This shows that the Hindu Prime Ministers have all along enjoyed the confidence both of the ruler of the State and his Musalman subjects. What a pity that the Musalman community in British India cannot trust the Hindus.

There is another loss which will result from the Reforms:—Many obscure individuals will find themselves suddenly elevated to a giddy height, and the vain-gloriousness of these newly-made "Hon'bles" will be a source of great annoyance to the community.

DAILY HITAVADI, July 10th, 1909, etc. etc.,

Rumoured appointment of Mr. Justice Chandravarkar as a Member of the Executive Council of Bombay.

41. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 10th July expresses its satisfaction at the rumour about the nomination of Mr. Justice Chandravarkar for a seat on the Executive Council of Bombay.

The *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 10th July says that the whole country rejoices to hear of the appointment of Justice Chandravarker as the first Native Member of the Bombay Executive Council.

So the disadvantages that will be produced by the Reforms will outweigh the advantages that will be reaped from them.

HITVARTA July 8th, 1909, etc., etc.

The Deportees.

42. Seeing the honour done to Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt at the Barisal District Conference, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July asks if the deportation of such a popular leader can ever reduce the discontent in the country.

In stating that the health of Mr. Aswini Kumar Dutt, the deportee, is getting worse under confinement, the *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July writes:—

We are afraid lest he, who is a jewel on the head of the people of the country, should die in acute neglect! Alas! O rulers and officials, is not your heart moved at all by the piteous prayers of the whole population?

In announcing that Mr. Krishna Kumar Mittra, the deportee, is arranging to have his will made, expecting not to be released during his life-time, the *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July writes:—

We are very much pained at the heart-rending feeling of despair of Krishna Kumar Babu. Alas! unfortunate India! that your best men should pass their whole lives away from home in absolute seclusion.

The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 8th July in referring to a statement that Babu Krishna Kumar Mittra has instructed a Calcutta lawyer to prepare his will, remarks:—

Sir H. Cotton infers from this that Krishna Babu does not expect to be released again at all. Probably he is making arrangements like this because of the way in which he is being treated.

The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July publishes the correspondence that recently passed between Babu Sukumar Mittra and the Government of India regarding the treatment accorded to Babu Krishna Kumar Mittra, and says that there is a strange similarity of language and style between the letter which the Government has written to Sukumar Babu and the letter which recently appeared in the *Statesman* regarding this matter.

The *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July asks if there has been a progress or retardation since Sir George Hamilton, the then Secretary of States for India, replied to a question in Parliament that the Natu brothers were informed of the charge against them, whereas Lord Morley said that the nine gentlemen now suffering deportation knew the charges against them.

The repeated interpellations in the Commons about the deportees, says the *Tirhut Samachar* [Muzaffarpur] of the 8th July, have not yet elicited any satisfactory answer from the Secretary of State. As there is no unrest in the country now we all hope that Government will set free the nine innocent men who have been confined without a trial,

The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th June takes exception to Lord Morley's statement about the condition of the deportees in India, and says that His Lordship should have himself undergone a few days' solitary imprisonment before making the remarks he has made. Again, it is not always that Government pays the cost of the maintenance of the deportees' family.

As for the effect of the deportations, Lord Morley's idea that they have been successful in restoring peace to the country seems to be wrong, for calmness does not always bespeak peace. The enforcement of the barbarous law of deportation may have struck the Indian dumb, but this dumbness does not necessarily mean that peace has returned to the country. The sudden appearance of a gang of dacoits in a village may hush all sounds in it, but this hush is not surely an indication of peace.

The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July subscribes to the views on the Bengal deportations expressed by a writer in the *Manchester Guardian* who signs himself as "G. H. B." The Regulation of 1818, says the *Basumati*, is a very convenient weapon in the hands of the Government of India, and there is no Court to which an appeal may be made against its decision, although during the days of the East India Company which first introduced the Regulation, the Directors had to publicly explain the reasons of their having recourse to it whenever such an occasion arose. Regarding the Viceroy and the Lieutenant-Governor having satisfied themselves as to the necessity of the recent deportations, the *Basumati* is sure that they could not have obtained any first-hand information but must have had to rely on the reports of Magistrates and Commissioners, who in their turn must have got their informations from the police. It is consequently the police, concludes the paper, who are at the bottom of the whole affair.

EKATA, July 8th, 1909.

A complaint against the Superintendent of Government Printing, India.

43. The *Ekata* [Calcutta] of the 5th July complains that by importing several monotype machines from England, the Superintendent of the Government of India Press has simply made matters worse than before. The outstanding result has been the throwing out of several poor men; but the advantage gained is purely problematical, as the experience of the last four or five years has amply shown. The writer shows that the expenditure has increased since the new machines were introduced, and a much longer time is required in doing the work of composing with the help of the new machines. In turning out any urgent work, both the time and the expenditure required are greater than when such work is done with the hand by the compositors. So the efficiency of the machines have yielded a negative advantage. The types from the machines are worthless, and are often curiously deformed, so that no economy of time and expenditure has been effected. Up till now not a single piece of faultless printing work has been turned out by the monotype press. So the vast sums of Government money which have been spent upon those machines have all been thrown away.

JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909, etc. etc.,

The new Advocate-General of Bengal.

44. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July regards the appointment of a Barrister from home as Advocate-General, Bengal, as a slight on the Calcutta Bar, and therefore unjust.

Referring to the appointment of Mr. George Henry Blair Cardrick as Advocate-General of Bengal, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July remarks that Mr. Norton has been left to build castle in the air.

The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 5th July cannot understand what need there was for importing an Advocate-General for Bengal from England, when competent men were available in the country.

TIRHUT-SAMACHAR, July 8th, 1909.

The Birthday honours.

45. In commenting on the *Observer's* remark that Government has conferred more titles on the Bengalis than on any other community in order merely to pacify them, the *Tirhut Samachar* [Muzaffarpur] of the 8th July points out that as titles of Honour are conferred for personal merits only the fact of the Bengalis receiving more titles would go to show that they deserve more being more advanced than their other fellow countrymen.

JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909.

Some unsuitable laws.

46. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July condemns the punishing with a further period of imprisonment of Ethiraj Surendra Nath for attempting suicide while in confinement. The law must be absolutely inhuman to take no note of the sufferings which drove him to attempt suicide. Another law, equally against Indian ideas of right is the one against begging, an offence which, by the way, is punished more often with whipping than with confinement in jail where, the men would at least be provided with meals, the want of which drove them to the so-called crime.

HITAVADI, July 9th, 1909.

Cheap Cables.

47. The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes that, considering how beneficial it is to the Empire that its different parts should be in communication with each other, the British Cabinet should disregard strictly financial consideration in coming to an agreement with the Cable Companies regarding the cheapening of their tariff.

48. Referring to the statement made by Lord Morley in his Oxford speech to the effect that Magistrates in India are prevented by pressure of work from mixing with the children of the soil, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July says that His Lordship is utterly mistaken in this matter. As a matter of fact, English Civilians hate to speak with Indian blackies. If any Indian goes to him, he is ofen insulted. If Civilians had any desire to mix with Indians, opportunities would not be wanting for the fulfilment of the purpose.

HITAVADI, July 9th, 1909.

Lord Morley's Oxford speech.

49. Considering that justice tempered with mercy is the secret of good government, the *Basmuati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July is very pleased with the kind-heartedness shewn by Sir Edward Baker in granting bail to Asoke Chandra Nandi, one of the convicts in the Alipore Bomb case who have appealed against the decision of the Alipore Court. Unnecessary cruelty, says the paper, may render the administration terrible, but it never does any good either to the rulers or to the people.

BASUMATI, July 10th, 1909.

Bail granted to Asoke Chandra Nandi.

50. The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes :—

BASUMATI, July 10th, 1909.

The Midnapore inquiry.

It is rumoured that the popular Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal was in favour of having a full and sifting enquiry made into the Midnapore case, but that he was powerless before the protests of the majority of the members of the Imperial Council, who care more for prestige than for anything else. So far this rumour has not been contradicted. Then, again, the indemnity prayed for by the Raja of Narajole has been refused. All these circumstances have naturally made the public sceptic as to any good coming out of the Midnapur enquiry. The indemnity, which has been refused to the Raja, who has thus been incapacitated from speaking out his mind frankly, was granted to other persons on many an occasion, and we fail to see what can possibly be the reason of the Government declining to follow the usual practice. Even supposing that the Commissioner of Burdwan had no power to grant the indemnity, could not the Lieutenant-Governor or the Viceroy have done so? All this has indeed only strengthened the public in their suspicion.

Granting that if the Raja had received the indemnity, he would have made unfounded allegations against certain officials—though we do not for a moment believe that a noble-minded person like the Raja could have said anything which was not true—surely the Government and the public would have succeeded in finding out the truth. We hear that when the Raja pressed Mr. Macpherson to grant him indemnity as a preliminary to his making frank revelations, that gentleman told him that if he (the Raja) did not say things frankly, he (Mr. Macpherson) would draw a conclusion unfavourable to him. If this report be true we must say that Mr. Macpherson has acted very unwisely.

51. Referring to the Midnapore Bomb case, the *Jagaran* [Bagerhat] of the 11th July writes :—

JAGARAN, July 11th, 1909.

The Midnapore Bomb case and the doings of the police.

At last the Midnapore case has come to a close. A study of the case is interesting, as it reveals the present policy of the rulers. It seems that certain officials regard the suppression of the *swadeshi* as their chief duty. The Police officials are the foremost among these officials. They are under the impression that Government will be pleased if they can put down the *swadeshi* workers by any means, fair or foul. They thus invented a gigantic conspiracy at Midnapore. It is needless to say that the judgment of the High Court in this case has given great satisfaction all round. A wicked policy of running down *swadeshi* workers had been introduced, and any case in which *swadeshi* played any part was sure to end in conviction. This produced a consternation in the country; even the High Court itself sank very low lately. But the advent of the new Chief Justice has revived the old prestige of the High Court. But what can the High Court alone do? How many men can afford to go up to the High Court? We now see why the much desired separation of the Judicial and Executive functions has not been effected. The Sarkar Bahadur desires to keep us bound down with the fetters of a rigorous administration. The Midnapore inquiry has been entrusted to officials who are diractly and indirectly connected with the police. So the result of the inquiry, whatever it may be, will fail to satisfy the public. We

never expected that under the administration of Sir Edward Baker such an arrangement was possible. May we ask who is responsible for the terrible sufferings and losses of so many respectable men, who were all innocent? Does Government think that nothing should be done by it in the matter?

DAILY HITAVADI, July 14th, 1909.

Last year's health report.

52. Referring to the official health report for Bengal for the year 1908, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 14th July says:—

The report makes us think that it is a wonder how people manage to live in this country. It is evident that here people are born only to die, and never to live. The rate of death is higher than the rate of birth. The following is a survey of the diseases which are decimating Bengal:—

(1) *Cholera.*—This disease made the largest number of victims last year, when only 6 villages had the good furtune to escape from it. Government admits that scarcity of wholesome drinking-water was the cause of such widespread virulence of the disease. It is a wonder that Government does not feel ashamed to admit this, and that our feelings are not outraged at it, when an excavation of only a few feet in this land is sufficient to bring out wholesome water, and when almost every thana in every district has a river passing through it.

(2) *Small-pox.*—Government has been unable to explain why, inspite of vaccination on a large scale, this disease made a wide havoc among the people of the country.

(3) *Plague.*—Deaths from plague numbered only 15,000 last year.

(4) *Fever-Malaria*—Fever is depopulating Bengal. Palamau, Hazaribagh, Birbhum, Gaya, Sonthal Parganas and Singhbhum suffered most from it, while in Murshidabad, Nadia, Jessore, Purneah and other districts it showed much less virulence. Government has not been able to explain the cause of this. The distribution of quinine is, however, going on as briskly as ever.

(5) *Dysentery and Diarrhœa.*—The extaordinary increase of this disease last year was due to a scarcity of wholesome drinking water, as well as wholesome food grains.

(6) *Diseases of the Respiratory organs.*—Phthisis, which was scarcely known before in this country, is increasing at such a rate that ere long it will assume an epidemic form.

(7) *Accidents.*—The exact number of deaths from accidents is not known.

Last year Government spent Rs. 19,48,823 in combating with this deplorable state of things, a sum too small considering the population of the country. It is a pity that the Government, which is so lavish in expenditure for the Police, Railways, etc., should be so miserly in the supremely important matter of the sanitation of the country.

III.—LEGISLATION.

HOWRAH HITAISHI, July 10th, 1909, etc.

The proposed legislation about Government currency notes.

53. Referring to the Bill shortly to be introduced into the Imperial Legislative Council for a large introduction of currency notes not exceeding Rs. 50 in value, the *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 10th July says that the Bill, when passed into law, will remove a long-felt want of the general public.

The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 14th July protests against the alone proposed legislation, on the ground that such universal currency will only serve to make the country poorer by increasing the amount of paper money in it.

VI.—MISCELLANEOUS.

MEDINI BANDHAV, July 5th, 1909, etc., etc.

The Curson-Wyllie murder.

54. The *Medini Bandhav* [Midnapore] of the 5th July writes:—

Secret murder is a sin of the greatest magnitude. The *Shastras* lay down horrible punishment for the murderer in the next world. The Hindu can never harbour murderous thoughts. It seems that certain Indian youths have gone off their heads, as

the result of Western education. We detest murder, and we believe the murderer must endure eternal punishment in Hell.

The *Samay Darpan* [Salkia] of the 6th July condemns the London Assassinations, and calls for immediate measures to be taken to put a stop to such heinous crimes which, besides being a menace to the well-being of society, may lead to the persecution of innocent persons.

The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 7th July writes:—

We have already given our readers a detailed account of the terrible assassination which was committed in London a few days ago by a Punjabi student named Madan Lall Dhingra. We have not so long expressed any opinion regarding this diabolical murder. It is foolishness to pass an opinion on a matter, before getting the fullest particulars connected with it. We have been surprised at the poisonous effusions which have been flowing from the Anglo Indian Press since Reuter flashed the news of Sir William Curon-Wyllie's assassination. We can emphaticaily say that 15¼ annas of the people of India are opposed to diabolical acts of this kind, and every one feels ashamed and sorry at the committal of this heinous deed by an Indian.

It is madness to hope that every one among a population consisting of 30 crores of men and women should have similar views, and that everyone of them should desist from committing any kind of crime. It is a greater madness still to form from the act of one man an opinion as to the views of 30 crores of people. We have grave doubts about the sanity of those who have concluded from Madan Lal's act that the entire population of India is conplicated in a conspiracy to murder the English.

We do not disagree with the opinion which is being expressed regarding this assassination being due to political motives, but the thing is, where is there no disagreement regarding political views? Can anybody hope that the crores and crores of the people of India should have the same political views? If a foolish person thinks that the future welfare of India will be secured only if a few Englishmen and English-women, are murdered in the streets and the ghâts,* is one to conclude from it that all classes of people in this vast country of India are determined to murder the whites or to destroy English rule in this country? There is madness in every affair. May be that certain inexperienced youths think that the murdering of Englishmen is conducive to the welfare of India; but is one to conclude from this that every Indian is of the same opinion? The Indians are a subject people, and it is not difficult for the members of an independent people to say whatever they like about such a subject nation. But we ask, does not political fanaticism exist among independent peoples? In the history of the Island of the Whites (*i.e.* England), does not one find several instances in which certain fanatics, who were dissatisfied with the administration of the country, attempted to murder even the king and the queen? Were not more than one attempt made on the life of the pious Empress Victoria whose (sacred) name deserves to be remembered every morning? Is it to be concluded that the entire English nation was dissatisfied with the Empress, and was engaged in a great conspiracy to murder her simply because a few fanatics made those attempts on her life? If that be not the case, it is beyond the range of ordinary intelligence to make out why the blame of conspiracy and sedition should be laid on the shoulders of the entire Indian nation on account of the acts committed by Madan Lal or a few (literally, ten or five persons) like him.

* Approaches to a river or tank intended for bathers. The Bengali expression *pathe ghate* means in some public place.

What Madan Lal has done is probably the result of his brooding day and night in a perverse way over the political situation in India. We do not deny the possibility of the existence of a few (literally, two or ten) more men who brood perversely over the political affairs of India just as Madan Lal has done; nor is it improbable that they are determined to murder a few Englishmen whenever they get the facility and the opportunity. Even admitting all this, we fail to understand why the entire Indian nation should be held up to blame in consequence of the thoughts, acts or conspiracy of these few (literally, two or ten) persons. Wickedness and sin always existed in the world, they exist now also, and will remain in the future as well. In society the people who are sinful and commit misdeeds are always despised and are punished by the ruling power. There are at the present time laws for punishing, and a social

power for expressing strong contempt for those who are implicated in the heinous sin of manslaughter. It is in keeping with the ordinary course of things that the king should punish sinners and evil-doers; why then does it give rise to so much talk? By committing a murder Madan Lal has defied both the rule of society and the laws of the sovereign; and, as a consequence of that, society is looking at him with eyes of contempt, and the ruling power will punish him. If in future anybody follows in his footsteps, he will also meet with a similar fate. This has been the usual order of things for ever, and such shall it remain in the future.

It has become a custom (literally, disease) in the Anglo-Indian community to blame the entire population of this country for the acts of a few unruly youths. Although expressing our deep regret at the assassination of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie, strongly condemning the deed committed by Madan Lal, and describing manslaughter generally as diabolic, we strongly protest against the opinions expressed in this connection by the Anglo-Indian community. It is as a result of the thoughtlessness of this class of Englishmen that many unruly youths have been created. We will by and by say more on this subject. We conclude here for the day.

The *Bankura Darpan* [Bankura] of the 8th July strongly denounces the murder of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie by an Indian, and says that as a result of the foul deed, there is every chance of Englishmen losing faith in Indian loyalty.

Referring to Colonel Wyllie's assassination, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July says that every Indian is shocked at the news of an educated Indian murdering a gentleman while engaged in talking with him. No doubt, Madan Lal has cast a blot on the fair name of the Indians, but when it sees that another Indian, Dr. Lalcaca, sacrificed his life to save another fellow-creature, it cannot but think that Dr. Lalcaca washed off the blood stain caused by Madan Lal.

Although every Indian is much pained by the black deed of Madan Lal—a fact which Government knows very well—the journal considers it its duty to protest against the mean effort of some people to make a certain party responsible for this foul deed. Under the cover of this sad event, the Anglo-Indian Press with one or two exceptions has commenced attacking a certain section of the people holding certain political views. The *Statesman* has outdone the *Englishman*, the *Pioneer* and the other papers in this respect.

The paper is not aware what grounds they have to associate this crime with the nationalist party. It becomes only papers like these to make unfair attacks on their adversaries. A correspondent of the *Chronicle* wrote to say that Madan Lal had attended a meeting in which Lala Lajpat Rai delivered a speech. The insinuation conveyed by the news is obvious. Writing and speaking like this create a misunderstanding between the ruler and the ruled. It is a thousand pities that in spite of its drawing attention to the above Government has paid no heed to it. "We may," says the journal, "ignore such newspapers and their correspondents, but our hearts begin to break when we see the Governor of a Province following their footsteps. The Indians then find themselves utterly helpless and despair of any progress and it is in despair that a man commits what is not right—a fact admitted by all. Only the other day the Lieutenant-Governor of Punjab took the same course, and gave expression to ideas quite unbecoming an impartial ruler. It is hoped Sir Louis will reconsider what he said about the party which was against the Madras Congress and disabuse his mind of the wrong impression. It is but natural for Sir Louis Dane to be pained to see a Punjabi committing a criminal offence, but a great man must keep his head cool in a difficult situation. As for the *Chronicle's* writing that Madan Lal attended an extremist meeting and received arms, etc., before proceeding to commit the offence, the object is only to poison public opinion in England.

The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 8th July writes :—

The entire country has been astounded and cut to the quick at the news of Colonel Sir Wm. Curzon-Wyllie's murder. We do not know how to express our loathing of this unthinkable misdeed. Such murders are against the disposition of Indians. And yet Indian-hating papers like the *Englishman*

want to utilise this murder to terrify and goad Government into a course of repression. It is to be hoped, however, that Government will remain patient.

The *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes :—

We ask why things have come to be so. The same Bengal in which it was possible for a Chaitanya to be born, the very Bengali who at one time did not inflict pain even on a petty insect, the same Bengal in every stratum of the soil of which softness is intermixed, the very Bengali who looked on his English rulers as his ideals, and to used to imitate them—in that same Bengal, that very Bengali is prepared even to murder men. Why in Bengal alone in—all the provinces of India some members of the English edutated community have come to be perverted in thir way. It seems to us that with the free influx of English civilisation, luxury, foreign wine and other sinful things, this sin also has come into our country from abroad. The Abbe Sieyes in explaining away the sins committed in the course of the French Revolution, said that if anybody makes a man lose his senses by making him drunk, and, while he is in this unbalanced condition of mind, ties him up hand and foot, then the man, who so loses his senses through drink, saves himself through trickery, through sin ; this act of trickery is however not really a sin, but merely a way of self-defence. Though we may not accept this decision, we can say this much—that for these heinous sins, it is the English, the ruling race, who are mainly responsible. You will make the Indians, who have always been a subject people, study English literature, which is individualistic, through and through, you will teach them Burke, Bentham, Mill and Carlyle; you will allow them to go to your Island home, which is freedom's Paradise, you will let them have a taste of your unrestrained liberty, and yet you will keep them in their capacity as your subjects in India tied up in the snaky coils of legislation, you will not listen to anything they say, they are to remain your slaves of slaves. Can such an impossibility ever be—ever be possible? It has never been, it never can be, and that is why this sin has come into being, this popular revolution has set in. We admit that we Indians are conquered slaves of the English, lowest of the low. But the education which you are imparting in the schools you have established is worthy only of students of a free race. Although as a race of slaves, we have no right to such an education, it is bound to produce some little effect on us. As a result of that education, though we lie prone at the Englishman's feet as it were, we can no longer put up with kicks from the boots of any and every Englishman ; indeed, the keen sarcasms of even a Viceroy like Lord Curzon are intolerable to us. As a result of that education, the bad policy of the partition of Bengal has set the warm blood coursing through our veins in anger,—even though we are a conquered people, we have not been to able forget any of the incidents of the past three or four years. Englishmen, you are repeatedly churning with the adamantine churning stick of Western education (the sea of) Hindu society which has always been churned, oppressed and compressed; and through your ill-luck, poison has come out of it. If you wish to be triumphant over death, to be like another Mahadeb, the god of gods, on the cremation-ground of India, then it is you yourselves who must drink up this poison; and after drinking it, come to be blue-throated (like Mahadeb). Else, the influence of this great poison will destroy society, and work ruin. At no time before were politics discussed in this country as now, there was no anarchism, or bomb—all these have been imported from England—in all these the instructor and preceptor has been the Englishman himself, or the black *Saheb*, blinded by the anglicising spirit. It is a truth which very many of the people of the country will not be able to forget, that what is called British India now is the land of our own ancestors, the land of our fathers, of our birth. English education has also taught us that the English are our rulers and administrators, only because we all uphold them. So we are sure to make demands in connection with the government of this country and its protection. These demands are backed up by the Western education which the English have imparted—by Mill, Bentham, Bain and Spencer—by the history of the English nation and by our awakened self-consciousness. If such a demand is repeatedly paid no heed to, the people, infuriate yet fettered, are certain to take to sinful courses.

And if this sin is to be rooted out, you are sure to commit some little measure of oppression and harassment. But is the sin wholly wiped away thereby, leaving no mark behind? Rats are killed in order to expel the plague—lakhs on lakhs of rats die every year. In spite of so much destruction, a number of rats are left to survive in their holes, and they spread the plague in the following year. As, in spite of the efforts of a dozen years, and the destruction of crores of rats, the plague has not been stamped out, so even though the bomb-*wallahs* and the assassins were extirpated like rats, some of them would be left surviving in some unknown dark recess of society, and they will set the disease—the bombs and the assassinations—in operation afresh. Mosquitoes and bugs, rats and cats are not exterminated simply by a process of killing. Men have been killing bugs and mosquitoes for all time, and yet there is no dearth of them in any country. You have indeed suppressed the bomb in Bengal, but materials for bomb manufacture have been found in Maharashtra, and a Brahmo student of the Punjab has assassinated a high English official in London. Government will probably again take to a policy of grinding down and oppressing, will want to crush all. But these things do not die simply if they are pressed down and killed. The more Government tries to wipe off this sin, the more will it crop up in a new place, in a new way, in a new form.

This is not the time to say what leads to what. The desire for vengeance in the heart of a strong man is a beast which cannot be tamed. Government is certain to be revenged for this murder. As a result thereof, the life of Indian students sojourning in England will become intolerable. In this country also, many will not be able to speak out their feelings freely. And sin and revolution, the more they are trampled on, will, like the multiplying of the Rakta Bij of Hindu mythology, spread the more all over the country, spread in extent, take root permanently in the soil of society. Peace, permanence, contentment and forgiveness will depart for ever from this country.

These are the things which make us anxious. As we have to protest against sin amongst the ruled, so have we to protest against pride amongst the rulers.

The wilful murder of Sir Curzon-Wyllie and Dr. Lalcaca by an Indian anarchist, says the *Darus Sultanat* [Calcutta] of the 9th July, has caused a widespread consternation among the well-wishers of India. The catastrophe is not the result of a personal grudge, which may be disregarded as such. It is the outcome of the baneful political doctrine, under the influence of which a Hindu anarhist has brought about the assassination of an important personage, the President of the Students' Advisory Board. Such a bloody deed by an Indian student at the very centre of the British Government forebodes misfortune to India. Although there is nothing to discover a conspiracy against Colonel Wyllie, one must rest assured that the murder was premeditated. The number of Indian anarchists is very limited, but there is a danger of other men being infected with the pernicious doctrines of anarchism. The well-wishers of India are required therefore to give a thoughtful consideration to it.

The malicious newspapers which try to darken a thousand praiseworthy acts of Government by drawing a horrid picture of the defects of the British rule which have no existence, should note that they are the enemies not only of the State, but of their own countrymen too.

It is a source of great satisfaction and pleasure to us that the Musalmans as well as the Muhammadan students have remained unshaken in their loyalty to Government, and the cause of this is to be found in the exercise of healthy influence by their leaders, newspapers and teachers. We hope that the conduct of the Muhammadan students in England, too, is satisfactory.

We are also pained to hear that an Extrenist who dissented from the resolution of the meeting held in London under the presidency of the Aga Khan, struck on the head of an Anglo-Indian with a stick on being excluded from the meeting, for things like these cannot but forebode misfortune to India. We wish that all the Indians should at once join hands with Government in uprooting anarchism from the country.

The *Marwari* [Calcutta] of the 9th July is grieved to hear of the outrage, and is opposed to such crimes because Indians hate them.

The *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 10th July severely condemns the foul murder of Sir William Curzon-Wyllie by a fanatic in London, and says

that such detestable deeds are calculated to do the greatest harm to the country's cause. At the same time, it must be said that repressive measures based on distrust of the Indians would be a mistake.

The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 10th July writes that the Curzon-Wyllie murder is like the murders of Lord Mayo and Chief Justice Norman. It is madness to ascribe a political significance to every act of murder of a member of a conquering race by one of the conquered, from a sense of personal grievance, real or fancied. And it is indulgence in this form of madness by the Anglo-Indian press which accounts for the present unrest in the land. Be it for individual grievances, or be it as the result of a perverted view of the political needs of the country, a number of assassinations have lately taken place in India, which all thoughtful Indians deplore, and which they are actively striving to prevent the future recurrence of. There are hopes of these efforts coming to be successful soon, when these devilish deeds will be things of the past. But unluckily, the *Feringhee* community is impatient—they evidently desire all the unrest and trouble to be eradicated in a single day, so that they may revert to their old arrogant attitude of undisputed superiority to the natives of the soil. But let them know that such a day will never return.

Anglo-Indians hold the boycott responsible for all this. What they really complain of, however, is the fact that the Indians no longer are afraid of Englishmen as they were before, that low-class *Feringhees* no longer dare commit such brutal outrages on Indians as they did. Now-a-days a system of tit-for-tat has come into vogue; nobody now bows his head at the sight of a European face. This is intolerable to Anglo-Indians who want to kick with their boots on as freely as before, and keep their own predominance unimpaired.

The second point of grievance with Europeans is the boycott and *swadeshi*. With their keen trading instinct, they recognise that another 20 years' life for the boycott will mean loss of livelihood for themselves. It is this apprehension which is at the back of Lord Curzon's recent talk about a "hush," and of the *Englishman* and the *Statesman's* ravings. These Englishmen, blinded by self-interest, see that a policy of conciliation has not lulled the Indian into forgetfulness of the boycott, and they want now to terrify Government into a policy of brutal coercion, a course of policy which, however, Government is not likely to resort to.

The men who wanted to make out the Curzon-Wyllie murder to be the result of a conspiracy ought to be ashamed. There has not been so far any conspiracy here or in England of Indians to expel the British from this country, save in the brains of Anglo-Indians. There is a possibility, however, that the constant reiteration of this theory by Anglo-Indians may in time irritate Indians into really forming a conspiracy. If it so happens, the fault will be with the Anglo-Indian.

The *Ratnakar* [Asansol] of the 10th July writes:—

We have been astounded and mortified at the news of the terrible deed perpetrated in London. These misguided youths, though only few in number, are dragging down the country into ruin. Heaven only knows what may be the remedy for such distempers.

The *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July expresses its abhorrence of the London assassinations.

Referring to the assassination of Sir Curzon-Wyllie and the cry of the alarmists who are condemning the Anglo-Indian friends of India, the *Bharat Mitra* [Calcutta] of the 10th July says that irresponsible talk by ordinary people does not matter so much, but what fell from Mr. Asquith, who is the Prime Minister of a Kingdom over which the sun never sets, and a representative of the whole English nation, when addressing a public meeting is unworthy of such a great man. He attributed the conspiracy once to the deportees in Parliament, and now he traced the assassination to them, but he has had his retribution since the London Police has declared after inquiry that the murder was not the result of any conspiracy. Mr. Asquith must be repenting for his hasty remarks, and the whole of England must have been grieved to find one who would give expression to things without due inquiry occupying the high position of their Prime Minister.

The Police report is worthy of the London Police. As for the suggestion of importing Indian detectives, the paper says that if a Police like the one which enquired into the Midnapur case were sent there, the Globe's desire to exclude all the Indians from England would be more than fulfilled; nay, it would devise a plan to make all of them disappear from this world.

There is a difference of heaven and earth between the Police of India and the Police of England, so says the *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 10th July. The Police of England has deposed that it is convinced, after critical enquiry, that Madan Lal, the murderer of Colonel Wyllie, has no associate in the crime. The Police of India would have acted in quite another way; it would have spent a month or even more in holding an inquiry into a murder of this nature, implicated many innocent persons in the crime, and thus boasted of its strength. The conduct of the Indian Police has been sufficiently exposed in the case against Babu Arabindo Ghose, the Barrah Dacoity case, and the Nattore Mail Robbery case.

The *Bihar Bandhu* [Bankipur] of the 10th July says that the news of Sir Curzon Wyllie's assassination by a Punjabi student has been a bolt from the blue to the Indians.

The *Jagaran* [Bagerhat] of the 11th July says that such detestable murderers are always held up to scorn in society.

The *Bir Bharat* [Calcutta] of the 11th July has the following :—

We re-iterate what we have said more than once that we are strongly against such assassinations. In fact there is hardly a nation which does not condemn it. It is stated in our *Sashtras* that merit cannot be acquired through the agency of sin. The subject nation is doomed to destruction if it has recourse to crime. It was due to religious zeal that the uncivilised Musalmans could make so much improvement in their condition. It was due to the light of Islam that the Arab banner was planted in the principal countries of Europe and Asia. It is therefore clear that the improvement depends on virtue and not vice. The vice, on the other hand may enable a particular individual to achieve his end, but it can do no good to a nation. It is only when individuals are bent upon to do good to their nation, forgetting their individual interests, than a nation can make any advance towards improvement. Without virtue there cannot be self-sacrifice. From this it is evident that those who have committed morder or thrown a bomb have not done it for their own self-interest. They might have committed what was right or what was wrong, but they did it in the interest of the nation. To this it might be said in way of reply "that the misdeed committed in the interest of an individual or a nation or one's own self or of another is a misdeed all the same." Those who have resolved to serve their country's cause jealonsy enimity, arrogance, pride etc., can find no room in them; they can suppress their base feelings. All that they do is brightened by their virtue. They sacrificd their body, mind and wealth, and do not hide themselves like cats. They do not fear death, and are not inclined to kill others. There is not a single individual gentleman who does not condemn such political murders. The Hindus hate murders and the murderers. The secret murder is not an indigenous growth; it is an import from England. It is the doing of a few rush young men among those whose eyes have been dazzled by Western crivlisation, and who preferred to imitate what is bad instead of which is good. In the beginning it brought us the hat, coat, pants and wine; now it has brought us anarchism. Neither Englishmen nor the Government can therefore hold all the Indians responsible for it. It is not the fault of the Indians who bave received English education, nor of the Eastern education and Eastern civilisation. Western civilisation, which has an abundant supply of the same this country, must answer for it. The fault lies in the ignoring of the fact by the Englishman, and the fault lies in the arragance of the Englishman. If you sow tares you cannot reap wheat, you may punish those who are guilty; you may have full recourse to law in order to root out this evil; but, beware, do not consider or molest the whole nation guilty for anything done by a few individuals. High-handedness and oppression would obliterate virtue and vice, and make the innocent go over to the gulty and befriend them; many stupid Englishman advice the Government to cut the hand, and feet of the Hindus race on account of this assassination,

but if the Government would only punish the assassin disregarding the cry of the Englishman, all the Indians would be ready to render any help that lies in their power. It is hoped Lord Morley and Lord Minto would patiently inquire into this affair, and refrain from being hard on the people in general.

JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909.

"The heroism of an Extremist."

55. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July heads its paragraph describing the recent incident between Sarvarakar, an Indian student, and an Anglo-Indian at the Caxton Hall meeting to denounce the Curzon-Wyllie murder as "the heroism of an Extremist."

HOWRAH HITAISHI, July 10th, 1909.

56. Referring to the remarks made in connection with the recent murder in London by Mr. Asquith at the Liberal Federation meeting at Southport to the effect that he had already condemned in Parliament the nefarious conspiracy of which the murder was the result, the *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 10th July observes:—

Mr. Asquith on the Curzon-Wyllie murder.

We are at our wits' end at finding Mr. Asquith attempting to connect the deported gentlemen with violent deeds, and we emphatically declare that it is impossible to conceive of a more outrageous and unjustifiable attempt than that of which Mr. Asquith is guilty. What can be more deplorable than the insinuation that men like Babus Aswini Kumar and Krishna Kumar are capable of resorting to any conspiracies? If such remarks can come out of the mouth of the British Premier himself, the sooner ordinary people give up politics the better.

JAGARAN. July 4th, 1909.

The speech of the President of the Khulna District Conference.

57. The following are the salient points in the speech of the President of the Khulna District Conference as published in the *Jagaran* [Bagerhat] of the 4th July:—

Lord Morley is determined not to annul the partition, and lately used rather unrestrained language towards Lord Macdonnell because he had the courage to point out the mischief which the partition had done. Lord Morley now appears before us with a whip in one hand and a lollipop in the other. We may tell his Lordship that the Reform Scheme, as it now stands, has no more any charm for us, and that our pain on account of the partition is much greater than is the pleasure which the reforms are likely to give us. What with the different systems of administration that are about to be established in Eastern and in Western Bengal, the granting of separate electorates to Musalmans, which is sure to set them and the Hindus against each other, and the reservation in the hands of officials of the right of approving the election of members of Legislative Councils, the Reform Scheme appears to us as nothing better than an instrument of despotism. In fact it is likely to do more mischief than the partition or the repressive policy followed by Sir Bampfylde Fuller and Sir Andrew Fraser. Let us not, therefore, be led away by the reform scheme to forsake our agitation against the partition, and our vow for the *swadeshi* and the boycott. Let us develop our national life by the spread of education, by improving the condition of our villages where scarcity and disease are so prevalent, and by establishing arbitration courts.

Associations should be formed in every district for carrying out these objects, and subscriptions should be freely raised in order to meet the expenses of this scheme. I would suggest that traders and shop-keepers should be asked to subscribe to this fund. We should be always on our guard against the racial animosity which officials try to create among the different classes of our countrymen. I cannot help mentioning the case of the nine patriots who have been deported under a barbarous law. These noble-minded persons have been deported simply on suspicion, and on the strength of the reports made against them by a police which is by no means remarkable for its honesty, as has been very amply proved in the Alipore Bomb case, the Midnapore case, the Barrah Dacoity case, etc. I do not approve of the adoption of a repressive policy, because of the misdeeds committed by a few brainless youths. Such a thing is likely to increase the present unrest and discontent all the more. In conclusion, I ask my countrymen to adopt every constitutional means to fnrther the cause to which we have devoted ourselves.

SAMAJ DARPAN, July 6th, 1909.

"Whose fault is it?"

58. The *Samaj Darpan* [Salkia] of the 6th July has the following under the heading "Whose fault is it"?:—

These wailings which are heard all over the

country for the want of food, water and sanitation—who is responsible for them? Whose fault is it? Who will answer these questions? Who will wipe off the tears of the persons afflicted by these evils, and give them consolation? Whose words of hope will re-assure the people of the country? Who will save the country from the grip of the rainy season which stands before it, as it were, like a dreadful monster? The piteous cries of boys and girls for want of food, which are heard in the house of many a starving Indian, melt even a stone. The silent tears of untold men and women soak the earth. In how many a place infested with tigers, snakes and boars are the disarmed and helpless inhabitants passing their days in constant fear of death, praying only to God for protection. How many a poor man who cannot afford to repair his dilapidated cottage, is drenched by the rains and by his own tears. Who can count the large number of men who are laid up in bed on the damp ground, suffering severely from malarial fever caused by mosquitoes? Who will care to enquire after them? Who is there to do so? Men, who pride yourselves on your education, wealth and rank, I ask every one of you to go from village to village and witness all these sights which are strange to you. You visit distant and foreign countries at the cost of enormous labour and money for the purpose of pleasing your eyes, or for increasing your knowledge, or for obtaining good education. Will you not take a little trouble to see what is happening all round your own house? Is your duty done simply when you think highly of yourselves and obtain seats on Legislative Councils as "Honourable Members?" Can one fully realise the distress described above only by reading newspapers or by hearing reports from others? Come and get first-hand information of these things; but you must speak to the representative of the sovereign about what you see. The persons who are afflicted by these forms of distress suffer everything in silence—the only thing they can do is to weep. The person who witnesses these miseries can do nothing either—he also can only weep. For to whom is he to speak about them? Who will listen to him? I am reminded of the days long past when drought, famine and unrest came upon the land in consequence of King Dasaratha giving himself up to luxury and neglecting his regal duties and the protection of his people. The king is under the spell of an illusion as it were, and will not listen to any word of advice. He goes out hunting and kills the boy Sindhu mistaking him for a deer. The grief kills the boy's blind parents and the king receives a curse which brings him back to his senses and directs his attention to his duties; he redresses his people's grievances and their distress is removed. Unfortunately for us our rulers do not care to see or hear what happens to us. Railway experts from England were of opinion that more than six thousand miles of railway ought not to be opened in India, but the rulers paid no heed to this advice. Twenty-four thousand miles of railway have been laid down and more are being laid down still. The exportation of food grains has not been stopped inspite of repeated protests. For the sake of free-trade foreign imports cannot be stopped. Consequently the country is foodless and filled with the cries of lamentation. Malaria and cholera are thinning out the population. Famine is recurring each time with new severity. The extension of railways is blocking up the drainage and is ruining the sanitation of the country. Imports and exports are increasing and the country is being ruined. The Road Cess and the Public Works Cess are yielding a large revenue, but the scarcity of water and the inconvenience due to bad roads are increasing day by day. We do not know what an illusion has robbed the sovereign and his officers of their eyesight and when these dark days will be over.

There is no end of killing incidents like that of the killing of Sindhu and his blind parents in hunting expeditions. When are the miseries of the people to end? We do not know when means will be found for removing the sovereign's mistaken ideas. That is why we ask: "Whose fault is it?" The fault is neither of the sovereign nor of the people. It is out of ill-luck that scarcity of foodand water, disease, and sorrow have come upon the heaven-like land of India which used to be verdant with corn and possessed good water and delicious fruits. Is there no remedy for all this? Is there nobody who is responsible for this state of things? Who will wipe off the tears which this distress causes to flow? Will the Indian people who are noted for their endurance suffer all this for ever? O Lord of the Universe! Thou rulest the destinies of the kingdom

of the universe. Cast one kindly glance upon India and give our English rulers good sense. Thou alone art our only hope. Thou art the King of kings, and we ask Thee, whose fault is it—is it of the people or of their rulers?

59. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July has the following:— JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909.

"Come back." O son of the Mother, who has lost his way, and who is intoxicated with the pride of wealth, whither are you going with quick, hurried footsteps, come back once. Lift up the screen on the past and see where that splendour of everlasting glory has vanished, and what an indistinct black line has fallen on the picture of your peaceful life. At whose feet are you offering up to-day in lumps, the inexhaustible beauty and shining genius with which the Mother decked you out and sent you on to do good to the world? Who is receiving that unsolicited offering in disdain and without appreciation? There is the hungry mass of humanity, your fellow-countrymen, arrived at your door, there is the wail of the suffering rising to the sky higher than the high tower of your pure white palace, there is your fellow-countryman clad in torn clothes praying piteously for a cloth, there is that eighty-year old man, who has taken to bed through disease, suffering death agonies for want of medicine and food. Alas, have you not even a drop of tear left in your heart for these? Has your heart become so much hard as stone through worshipping the feet of the foreigner that not an atom of mercy is left there? With what hopes was the heart elated at one time at the sight or you! Your fellow countrymen were looking forward with wistful eyes to gaining shelter under your cool shade, your lotus feet were being decked out with the weight of the flowers of the inexhaustible gratitude of the country, the country was ready to lift you up to its head. All of a sudden some deceptive words of charm entered the ear, some hard self-interest made you mad, a black pall fell on your past life,—and the past, lighted up by an ever-lasting glory was immersed in the bottomless waters of perpetual oblivion, for you.

At the sound of Sri Krishna's flute, the black waters of the Jamuna flowed against the current and the milkmaids, sacrificing caste and virtue, rushed on with maddened souls, in order to gratify their eyes with a sight of (Krishna's) sable beauty. Whose flute is it, the sound of which has maddened you to-day? At a sign from whom, are you about to sacrifice your caste and your duty to-day? Whither are you going to-day with hasty footsteps, in forgetfulness of her—that Mother—the land of your birth, whose endless affection at one time welcomed you when you were helpless with two arms extended, whose fruits, waters and crops have made you to-day the possessor of incomparable wealth and prosperity, and who will one day give you shelter in her own ever-peaceful cooling breasts? That is why we were saying, Come back once.

"The Mother and the Land of one's birth are to be prized more than Heaven itself"—are these words of the Arya *rishi* from which nectar issues forth, going to prove to you a collection of useless words? Does not the pure blood of the Arya still flow in your veins? To-day the impulse of individual selfishness has blinded your eyes—that is why, though a son, you shrink not even from thrusting the knife into the Mother's breast. Alas, do you not feel a longing even for an instant to see your Native Land glorious, and to see your own greatness shine the more in the lustre of her greatness? Is your heart so strong that you do not shrink at all from sacrificing the hearty loathing of your fellow countrymen—of the entire race in the presence of the contemptuous and disdainful smile of the foreigner? Alas, O deluded son, who has gone astray, I say again, restrain your quick hurried footsteps, come back, the country will even yet accept you as a jewel on the head.

60. The *Sanjivani* [Calcutta] of the 8th July has the following, communicated by a correspondent:— SANJIVANI, July 8th, 1909.

The political situation. There were hopes that the Partition of Bengal would be undone, that the deportees would be released, that the men punished for political offences would be set at liberty. But what has happened? Not only has the Partition of Bengal not been undone, but an Executive Council has been established only in Western Bengal, and not in Eastern Bengal The deportees have not got their release. The path has been facilitated for the aggravation of domestic strife by the inauguration of a system of separate

electorates for Hindus and Musalmans. Are these the means for the re-establishment of peace? Will these bring peace to our hearts? We cried for bread and Government has given us stone. We want to be allowed to live, while Government only goes on repressing. We have got a new ideal—it is western education and civilization which have brought it to us,—and with this ideal in our hearts, we want to-day to stand up. The Indian, degraded, stricken with hunger, oppressed by various superstitions, pressed down with the burden of taxes, without a sense of self-respect, a stranger in his own land, shut out from responsible offices of State in spite of his fitness, and shut out from the rights of subjects (as well) has at the present time got some fresh illumination (so that) he wants to assert himself a little, wants to rocognise his own Mother as such, wants to remove the poverty and sorrows of the country, wants to re-unite severed Bengal. And Government thwarts them therein. But they do nothing illegal. This new awakening, which has come into the land has sprung from God's grace—it is sanctified and heavenly—it is a sentiment which cannot remain in contact with sin,—all this we know. Is it wrong to buy indigenous things only? Is it illegal to boycott *bilati* merchandise? Is it blameable to impart education in a "national" way? Is it a sin to love one's country? We have no cause of quarrel with the English Raj. Why then do they oppress us so much? Why have they snatched from our breasts men like Krishna Kumar and Aswini Kumar? Why are they placing on our heads the burden of laws increasingly harsh? For these reasons there is no peace, no hope now in the hearts of the Indian. He is in sore anguish, in dull despondency. Nevertheless he knows that persistent endeavour, self-restraint, patience, renunciation, and most of all, dependance on God are wanted. They have passed a test in self-control—they have shown patience. It is true that some youths of an impatient disposition, sunk in despair, are preparing to do reprehensible things. But the entire population of the country is unanimously declaring their work as reprehensible, worthy to be condemned both by God and man. In their delusion they could not think out any other means of improving the condition of this country, they failed to understand that Rome was not built in a day, they did not comprehend that in working out a country's advancement, mere daring and self-renunciation are not the only virtues. It is a work which requires coolness, patience, restraint and a sense of right; for it is righteousness which exalteth a nation. This is why lost to all sense of right and wrong, of good and bad, they have wanted to do terrible things. But their number is very small. The people of the country are blaming them. But we ask the Government how long they will continue their present repressive policy. Immoral doings are very wrong—a nation will not be roused by them—rather they will add to the measure of sin in the country. A multitude of sins has brought about the downfall of the country—and secret murders are only gradually adding to that multitude. We know that these deeds are doing the greatest harm to the country—so the country has no sympathy with those deeds. But why does Government banish those men, who in righteous and lawful ways want to bring about the progress of the country, why does Government stop them from making speeches? The people of the country are not disposed now to make representations and send up petitions. We ask why things have come to be so. What hope has Government held out to those who want to agitate constitutionally? Who is responsible for the fact that the people of the country no longer want to listen to the Moderates? Who is responsible for the fact that unrest is spreading in the land, so that nobody thinks himself safe? Who is responsible for the fact that spies are abroad in the land in increased numbers, who report many things true and false to Government? Is it not proper to remove the causes which have brought on unrest? Who is responsible for the fact that so many young men of our country, in their delusion, seeking mistakenly to do good to the country in immoral ways, committed evil deeds, and thereby brought untimely deaths on themselves? Who is responsible for the fact that the people of the country are coming to lose all hope of getting any response from their rulers to their cries? We ask Government to recognise that a policy of repression does not bring about peace. Let them remove the causes of discontent, undo the Partition of Bengal, release the deportees, set at liberty the men punished

for political reasons, abandon the system of separate electorates for Hindus and Musalmans, concede to Indians geunine rights in the work of the country's administration, begin to trust the people of the country and save them from the oppressions of the secret police. And we ask the people of the country to conduct themselves in the paths of righteousness and morality in recollection of the illumination they have obtained. Let those who have taken to bad courses, desist. Let them seek the help of God, and devote their time and strength to the work of doing good to the country. They have strength, patriotism and self-renunciation. By misdirecting the influence of that strength and heroism, they are doing wrong, speaking humanly as well as divinely, and are working harm instead of good to the country. We ask again, Why it has come to be so? Why has the patient and cool-headed Indian come to be full of unrest? Why has he, in imitation of Western modes, become infuriated and embraced death? Who is responsible for this?

HITVARTA, July 8th, 1909.

61. The following appears in the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July under the heading noted in the margin:—

The secret of loyalty.

The Emperor's Birthday holiday has come and gone; salutes were fired, the black and white army had its dance, and there was a shower of honours. But has all this reached the ears of the 30 millions of the Indian men and women? Has any one taught them how to worship their King-Emperor? Where is the priest who would teach the Indians the method of showing their devotion to the sovereign? You, Englishmen, who expect loyalty from us punish us if our language is the least unguarded, and our movements are not strictly straight. Is this the way of teaching worship?

Here the paper reproduces in substance the article of the *Hitavadi* noticed in paragraph 50 of the Report for the week ending the 3rd July 1909 and then adds—Those who are idolators cannot show their devotion to the king unless he is among them. The paid representative of the sovereign, viz., the Viceroy, whose term of office is limited, cannot be an object of devotion; still Lord Ripon alone touched their heart by singing love to them; but immediately after the harsh sound of the administrative machine roused them from the undisturbed sleep which they were awhile enjoying. The Indians are now passing the last part of the night of their dependent existence with anxiety and care. The repressive laws are tormenting them like vermins. Will our Emperor come and stand among us a god in human shape and receive our devotion; if not, let him not claim devotion from us but only rule India as its Governor.

EDUCATION GAZETTE, July 9th, 1909.

62. The *Education Gazette* [Chinsura] of the 9th July publishes an article under the heading "Loyalty" in which the writer follows the late Babu Bhudev Mukerjee in describing the reigning sovereign as the embodiment of all the highest qualities. This idea of loyalty to the sovereign seems to have been shaken in these days by the influence of a Western system of education. This can never be for the good of the country. An implicit faith in the generous intentions of the rulers is what is desirable in the Indians, otherwise they must fail in their bounden duty to the sovereign.

Loyalty to the sovereign.

DAILY HITAVADI, July 13th, 1909.

63. Referring to the High Court judgment in the defamation case brought by Mr. Lajput Rai against the *Englishman* newspaper, the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 13th July writes:—

Who are the real enemies?

We asked the authorities some time ago, Who are the real dacoits? We now ask them, Who are the real enemies of the English? Who are they that are fomenting ill-will between the rulers and the ruled?

Lala Lajput Rai enjoys the confidence of his countrymen and many eminent Englishmen also are among his admirers. But the *Englishman* did not hesitate to blacken his character by publishing a libellous communication. We unhesitatingly declare that had it not been for the incessant insults offered to our leaders by the Anglo-Indian newspapers and their mischievous pranks, the present discontent would never have been caused and the foreign yoke would not have come to be regarded as intolerable by the Indians.

The *Englishman* and other Anglo-Indian papers of its type are the enemies alike of the people and of the Government and are trying their utmost to

cause-ill—will between the rulers and the ruled. The judgment of the High Court shows that the *Englishman* brought disgrace upon the fair name of Lala Lajput Rai. We therefore ask, Who are the enemies of India, of the Government of India, and of the Indians? Under the present circumstances who are causing the greatest mischief?

ALPANCH, July 9th, 1909.

The Moslem League.

64. The *Alpanch* [Bankipur] of the 9th July has its thanks for the All-India Moslem League for its taking pains in order to protect the political rights of the Indian Musalmans. The journal hopes that the League will shortly achieve success in making good the disadvantages under which the Musalmans have been labouring on account of their having eschewed politics so long.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR, July 9th, 1909.

Musalmans and the Government.

65. While expressing its disappointment at the indifference of the Government to Musalman interests in the Punjab where 54 per cent. of the people are of that faith, at the abolition of Urdu as the court language, and at the gloomy prospects of that commnnity in connection with the reform scheme, the *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 9th July says that so long as the Musalmans maintain any respect for their religion and their ancient traditions, they will never turn against the Government or commit any breach of the peace.

The same paper deplores the downfall of the Musalmans which has been well proved by the fact of the terrible oppression committed on them by the Hindus at Titagarh and by the disturbance caused every evening by Hindus near the Musjid at Tikapara (Howrah). Time was, says the paper, when the Hindus used to tremble at the very mention of the Musalman's name, but now they (the Hindus) oppress the Musalmans in various ways It is a pity that the Musalman community has not yet shaken off its sleep and bestirred itself for the protection of the Muhammadan religion.

MIHIR-O-SUDHAKAR, July 9th, 1909, etc.

Hindus and Musalmans.

66. The *Mihir-o-Sudhakar* [Calcutta] of the 9th July thanks Babu Akshay Kumar Maitreya for removing the undeserved stigma which was cast on Seraj-ud-dowla by English writers and says that worthless Musalman writers like the writer of the book *Devalilaba Hindu Dharma Rahasya* which hurts the religious feelings of the Hindus ought to follow Akshay Babu's noble example and burn their books.

The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 4th July welcomes the formation of Mr. Abdul Rasul's committee for the revision of plays with Musalman characters on the Hindu stage only suggesting the inclusion of one or two Hindu members on the body in order to remove misconceptions into which the Musalman members might inadvertently fall.

BASUMATI, July 10th, 1909.

A memorial to Seraj-ud-dowla.

67. As the *Neem* tree which has so long been the only landmark of the house in which Seraj-ud-dowla was killed has fallen down and with it the only memorial of the lamentable end of the Nawab is gone, the *Basumati* [Calcutta] of the 10th July asks the Hindus and Musalmans of Bengal to put up a suitable memorial on that site.

HITVARTA, July 8th, 1909.

The misfortune of the leaders.

68. Seeing the honour shown to Srijukt Surendra Nath Banerji in England, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July regrets the misfortune of such great men as Mr. Banerji, Messrs. Tilak, Gokhale, Ghosh, Pal, Lala Lajpat Rai and others having been born in this country in serving which they have to suffer so much, otherwise the whole world would have resounded with their fame.

JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909, etc.

Mr. S. N. Banerjee in England.

69. The *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July in referring to Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjee's interview with a representative of the *Evening Standard* in the course of which he predicted a decrease in the influence of the Moderates unless the partition were revoked and the present policy of repression withdrawn, remarks—We cannot command language strong enough to thank Surendra Babu. May he live long to serve his country!

Referring to the speech delivered by Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee at the New Reform Club asking the Government to strengthen the hands of the Moderates, to listen to the unanimous voice of the Indian people, and to reverse the Partition of Bengal in order that the Moderates may be able to help the

Government effectively, the *Dainik Chandrika* [Calcutta] of the 9th July writes—

Babu Surendra Nath means to say that the words of the Bengali leaders are not obeyed by the people, because their words have no value with the Government; but it was not very prudent on his part to allow enemies to have an opportunity of saying "Babu Surendra Nath is still, at this crisis, engaged in dwelling on the Partition of Bengal, simply to annoy the Government and to excite the people."

It is not also a proof of wisdom to think that it is very easy to induce Lord Morley to reverse the Partition.

JASOHAR, July 8th, 1909.

The Clive Statue.

70. In announcing that two statues of Clive have been prepared for Whitehall and Calcutta, respectively, the *Jasohar* [Jessore] of the 8th July suggests that the London statue should have engraved on its pedestal Burke's remarks on the original, and the Calcutta image should show Umichand's forged agreement hanging round the neck.

DAILY HITAVADI, July 7th, 1909.

Mr. Gerald Ritchie on the term "Natives" as applied to the Indians.

71. Referring to a letter published by Mr. Gerald Ritchie, the late Chairman of the Corporation of Calcutta, in the *Times* of the 12th June last, calling attention to the objection taken by educated Indians to their being called "Natives," the *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 7th July asks whether the gentlemanly advice given by Mr. Ritchie will be taken by Englishmen whose heads have been turned to an excessive degree by their possessing an empire.

HITAVADI, July 9th, 1909.

The desirability of a British settlement in India.

72. Referring to the statement made by the *Rangoon Times* to the effect that had the English been allowed to settle permanently in this country, the present undesirable political situation would never have arisen, the *Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 9th July says that on the contrary English colonisation of India would have made it impossible for Britishers at large to exploit the country, just as the case has been in Australia, Canada, etc.

HOWRAH HITAISHI, July 10th 1909.

The proposal of the Chief of Rampur to present "Dreadnaughts" to Britain.

73. Referring to the proposal made by Muhammad Ali Khan Bahadur, Chief of the Rampur State, to present two "Dreadnaughts" to the British Government, one by the Native Princes, and the other by the general Indian public, following the example set by the British Colonies, the *Howrah Hitaishi* [Howrah] of the 10th July observes :—

A little consideration would have shown the Prince that, in consideration of the relations subsisting between the British Government and the Colonies, and those between the former and the Indians, it would be far better on the part of the Indians to inaugurate some project for the good of the Indian people than present "Dreadnaughts" to the Government. For it would show their loyalty to the Government, and at the same time do good to the people.

DAILY HITAVADI, July 12th, 1909.

"Between you are me."

74. The *Daily Hitavadi* [Calcutta] of the 12th July appears in black borders as a sign of mourning for Lord Ripon's death, and makes the following observations in connection therewith under the heading "Between you and me":—

Whatever may have been the means employed by the English for the purpose, there can be no denying the fact that they are the governing class in India, and that the 300 millions of Indians are their subjects. It is not the time to discuss through whose mortal sins such an event was brought about. We must forget the greater portion of the history of the past, and must remember the stubborn fact that the English are the present rulers of India; also that, willingly or unwillingly, we Indians must acknowledge their supremacy.

But the English are not merely the rulers of India; they are also its traders and merchants. It is the Indians who have made English rule possible in India by not only helping to spread English merchandise throughout the country, but in various other ways. For them the Indian sepoy lays down his life on the battle-field, and that for a salary of Rs. 10 per month. It is because you and I stand shoulder to shoulder that the English are to-day the Sovereign Power in India, and we are their slaves. We say all this only to show that between you and us the relations are not merely those between a conquered people paying taxes and the tax-collecting conqueror. If we did

nothing else except paying the taxes, British rule in India would be an utter failure.

Englishmen, if you have conquered India with the sword, that sword your white hand alone did not grasp ; it is because the Indian held it with his iron grasp that you are now undisputed masters of India. The high-minded Lord Ripon understood this, and therefore succeeded in winning the hearts of the Indians, and was able to wreathe the iron chain of subjection which India wears all round her body, with flowers of love. He was the cleverest statesman among you all. What Lord Lawrence could not do, Lord Ripon succeeded in doing. He succeeded in making the English administration of India palatable to the 300 millions of Indians, and to win over the various races of India to the side of the English. A conquered people, even though vanquished on hundreds of battle-fields, would not be so partial to the conqueror. Lord Ripon wellnigh succeeded in achieving what was impossible. It is not that India has been completely denuded of her warriors, nor that she has completely lost the relish for freedom. It is not that she has completely consigned to oblivion her past glories. She has everything, and she will continue to have everything. Nevertheless, it was the high-mindedness of Lord Ripon that brought the Indians down to his feet. It is men like Lords Canning, Lawrence and Ripon who enabled you to lord it over us, and to enjoy the fruits of victory. During Lord Ripon's administration the Ilbert Bill created race-feeling between the two races, and the separation between them is now complete. If united, the non-official English and Indians could have the Government of India under their thumb. But Lord Ripon made such a thing impossible. He awakened a feeling of nobility in us. If such a man does not deserve the homage due unto a god from us, who else does ? If any Englishman ever succeeded in winning our hearts, it was Lord Ripon. If any Englishman ever made himself a jewel of our head, it was Lord Ripon. At Aligarh, Nawabs, Zamindars, Rajas and Maharajas carried Lord Ripon, seated on a *tanjam*, on their shoulders. No British ruler of India ever received such homage. We remember the day on which, when Lord Ripon arrived at Sealdah from Darjeeling, the whole route from the station to Government House was strewn with flowers. It is a misfortune of the Indians that such a ruler never again fell to their lot. The British people could not send another Viceroy like Lord Ripon, in whom were centred all the high qualities and virtues of the British nation. A second Lord Ripon is an impossible supposition. Another Indian Viceroy like Lord Ripon, and the conquest of India would have been complete, and Englishmen would not have to face such a difficult situation in India as now. But inscrutable are the ways of Providence, and Lord Ripon has left us for ever in these days of terrible repression.

NAYAK, July 4th, 1909.

Napoleon and the English.

75. The *Nayak* [Calcutta] of the 4th July writes that the selfishness of the English brought about Napoleon's downfall, as it was that great man's unselfishness which was the cause of the rise of France. The shameful part the English played in this connection will never be effaced from history. No other race on earth ever meanly squandered the world's forces as England has, selfishly and needlessly. England without justification took the lead in opposing France, making torrents of blood flow through Napoleon's instrumentality. All the waters of the Pacific Ocean will not wash away the stain of this infamy. The world will always sing the praise of Napoleon for his unselfishness and love of his subjects—and it is his unselfishness as well as the unselfishness of the ancestors of the present-day French which account for the height of civilisation which France has since attained.

HITVARTA July 8th, 1909.

The growing luxury in England.

76. Seeing the difficulty to find recruits in England for the army, the *Hitvarta* [Calcutta] of the 8th July infers that luxury has increased in that country.

URIA PAPERS.

URIYA AND NAVASAMVAD, June 30th, 1909.

Bestowal of the title of Rai Bahadur on Babu Anandalal Bose approved.

77. The *Uriya and Navasamvad* [Balasore] of the 30th June approves of the bestowal of the title of "Rai Bahadur" on Babu Anandalal Bose, Assistant Surgeon, Cuttack, and observes that he is an ornament of the domiciled Bengali community in Orissa.

78. Referring to the distinct order of the Balasore District Magistrate to the effect that "there will be no permanent President for the Benches, but the Senior Honorary Magistrate present will be the President for the time being," the *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 1st July complains that Babu Manmatha Nath De, a Junior Honorary Magistrate, is permitted to preside, though his senior, Babu Dinanath Bose, is present. The writer is inclined to think that this irregularity is committed without the knowledge of the District Magistrate, and hopes that it will be soon removed.

SAMVAD VAHIKA, July 1st, 1909.

An irregularity in the procedure of Honorary Magistrates in Balasore.

79. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 1st July regrets that the Balasore Municipal accounts and papers are yet in a confused state, and that no vigorous steps are being taken to put them on a better footing. Babu B. N. Dass, the Overseer, still signs receipts as Officiating Tax Daroga, while the Tax Collectors are signing receipts in pencil. The attention of the District Magistrate and the Chairman of the Balasore Municipality is drawn to the matter at once.

SAMVAD VAHIKA, July 1st, 1909.

Irregularities in the Balasore Municipal office.

80. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 1st July enumerates several cases, in which the Courts of appeal found that the police had fabricated or helped in the fabrication of false evidence and observes that Government should take particular steps to reform the police.

SAMVAD VAHIKA, July 1st, 1909.

The Police needs reform.

81. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 1st July states that cholera has made its appearance in Banki in Cuttack and that four deaths due to that disease have been reported from village Harirajpur in that State.

SAMVAD VAHIKA, July 1st, 1909.

Cholera in Banki.

82. The *Samvad Vahika* [Balasore] of the 1st July is of opinion that the success of the Midnapur people in the Midnapur bomb case is due in a great measure to the exertions of Mr. K. B. Dutt, to perpetuate whose memory the Midnapur people should do something.

SAMVAD VAHIKA, July 1st, 1909.

A proposal to perpetuate the memory of Mr. K. B. Dutt.

83. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 3rd July states that agricultural operations have considerably advanced in that State and that the transplantation of paddy seedlings is going on in some parts of that State. It is said that the weather is favourable.

GARJATBASINI. July 3rd, 1909.

Weather and agriculture in Talcher.

84. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 3rd July approves of the order of suspension passed on the Sessions Judge of Trivandrum, who had failed to probe into the mysteries of the police department that was conducting a riot case before the Judge and observes that this will make other Sessions Judges more careful in the future.

GARJATBASINI, July 3rd, 1909.

The order of suspension passed on the Sessions Judge of Trivandrum approved.

85. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 3rd July states that passengers and pilgrims experience considerable inconvenience at the Bhubaneswar station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway for want of carts or conveyances to have themselves conveyed to the Bhubaneswar temple, which is at a distance of about 3 miles from the Railway Station.

GARJATBASINI, July 3rd, 1909,

Inconvenience of passengers and pilgrims at the Bhubaneswar station.

86. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 3rd July states that the mother of the Chief of Talcher gave a religious banquet to the gentry of that State and fed a large number of poor men and women on the last anniversary of the birthday of His Majesty the King-Emperor. A special meeting of the Talcher Students' Association was held in honour of the day in which papers on loyalty were read.

GARJATBASINI, July 3rd, 1909.

Loyalty.

87. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 3rd July states that a reside of village Sipur in that State named Mahadev, distributed a ripe jack fruit among his friends and the members of his family, who were about 40 in number. It was found that every one who had tasted the fruit became unconscious for about two days. The Chief of Talcher is enquiring into the cause of this strange phenomenon.

GARJATBASINI, July 3rd, 1909.

A ripe jack fruit making people unconscious for about two days.

GARJATBASINI, July 3rd, 1909.

Miss Narmada Kar, a successful private Student.

88. The *Garjatbasini* [Talcher] of the 3rd July is glad to learn that Miss Narmada Kar, the daughter of Mr. Biswanath Kar, the editor of *Utkal Sahitya*, has passed the Entrance examination of the Calcutta University in the second division as a private student, and that she is the first Uriya girl to pass that examination. She was educated in the Ravenshaw Hindu Girls' School, from which institution she had passed the Upper Primary scholarship and the Middle Vernacular scholarship examinations. The writer hopes that other Uriya girls will follow her example.

UTKALBARTA, July 3rd, 1909.

Sufferings of pilgrims and passengers at the Jajpur Road Station.

89. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd July supports the statement of the *Nilachal Samachar* that the pilgrims bound for Jajpur experience considerable difficulty and inconvenience at the Jajpur Road Station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway for want of good drinking water, want of conveyance and want of good roads. The Government should do something to alleviate the sufferings of the pilgrims at that station.

UTKALBARTA, July 3rd, 1909.

Pilgrims from Puri compelled to walk on foot through sheer want of space in the Railway carriages.

90. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd July states that, notwithstanding the attempts of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company to run 7 or 8 special trains per day to Puri during the late Car Festival, many pilgrims were compelled to travel on foot on the Grand Trunk Road for want of Railway tickets. This, though regrettable, was unavoidable under the circumstances.

UTKALBARTA, July 3rd, 1909.

Price of rice in Balasore.

91. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd July states that fine rice sells at 8 seers, and coarse rice at 10 seers per rupee in the Balasore district.

UTKALBARTA, July 3rd, 1909.

A terrible man-eater in Bamra.

92. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd July states that a tiger in the Bamra State has become so bold as to travel freely in some of the villages in the State and to carry off men or women from their homes by entering therein forcibly. It is said that the tiger has already killed 25 persons. The writer prays that the Chief of Bamra should take immediate steps to bag this terrible man-eater.

UTKALBARTA, July 3rd, 1909.

Wolves in Narsingpur.

93. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd July states that wolves have proved very dangerous in Narsingpur, where they are said to have wounded several persons.

UTKALBARTA, July 3rd, 1909.

Continual export of cattle from Orissa to Calcutta not approved.

94. The *Utkalbarta* [Calcutta] of the 3rd July states that the continual export of cows and bullocks from Orissa to Calcutta affects injuriously the interests of the agriculturists in that province. Pure milk and ghee are becoming dearer and rarer day by day. This is no doubt a serious matter, and therefore deserves the best consideration of the economists in India.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

An obnoxious measure of the Transvaal Government criticised.

95. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July regrets to observe that the Transvaal Government is not dealing fairly with the Indians, who are in that colony. It is said that three members of the deputation appointed to wait on His Majesty the King-Emperor of India, have been detained in prison under technical pretexts. This is done simply in open defiance of the Imperial policy of the British Government.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

A proposal to legalise the manufacture and sale of Orissa *ganja* supported.

96. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July supports the proposal of its contemporary of the *Nilachal Samachar* that the Bengal Legislative Council should insert provisions in the Bengal Excise Bill, legalising the manufacture and sale of Orissa *ganja* in that province, in consideration of the facts that that *ganja* is generally used by consumers and native physicians in that Province, and that it is looked upon as more agreeable to health than the foreign *ganja*.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

The resignation of Mr. Buchanan sympathetically noticed.

97. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July regrets to learn that Mr. Buchanan has resigned the Under-Secretaryship in the India Office through ill-health, and observes that he was a good man and was popular with Indians, who had expected much from him.

98. Referring to the suspension of the Sessions Judge at Trivandrum, in Travancore, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July takes leave to observe that the District Magistrate of Midnapur and his subordinate Police officers should have been suspended before the institution of inquiry by Mr. Macpherson, the Divisional Commissioner of Burdwan. The policy of Government, so far as the administration of criminal justice is concerned, should be even and fair in dealing both with Government officers and the people in general. If the receipt of news from spies was considered sufficient to throw a large number of respectable gentlemen into the prison, the judgment of the Criminal Bench of the High Court should at least be considered sufficient to suspend the Magistrate and the Police officers, who failed in the discharge of their duties, and upon whom severe strictures were passed by the Hon'ble Judges of the High Court. The Government should value more the confidence of the people than the preservation of the so-called prestige of the Government officers.

Observations on the inquiry concerning the Midnapur Bomb case.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

99. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July supports the statement of Lord Curzon that the Indians as a whole have no political aspirations, and that they do not wish to meddle much with politics. Compared with the general mass of the people in India, the number of the educated Indians is very small, and it is this small minority which wants to aspire after politics. This is a true fact, and it must be admitted at all hazards. It is not yet time for Indians to aspire after political privileges, which it is hoped, will be granted to them in due course of time.

A statement of Lord Curzon supported.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

100. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July regrets to find that the Co-operative Credit system recently introduced in Bengal in the interest of the poor and indebted agricultural community is not working well. The people do not understand the system or the benefits which it proposes to confer. It is therefore the duty of the educated landlords to explain the bright side of the system to the people. The writer suggests that the principles of the system should be explained to the people in simple vernacular in the form of questions and answers.

The working of the Co-operative Credit system noticed.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

101. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July points out that though the payment by money-order system has been introduced into the Kanakpur Post-office, in the Cuttack district, the remuneration of the Post Master, who is drawing Rs. 3 per month, has not been increased. The discharge of responsible duties should carry with it a better remuneration.

A suggestion in connection with the administration of the Kanakpur Post-office, in the Cuttack district.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

102. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July states that cholera has made its appearance in the Cuttack town and that six persons are said to have died of the disease.

Cholera in Cuttack.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

103. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July states that continual rain in Jhankar in that district has prevented the people from carrying on agricultural operations in a large tract of culturable land, that lies uncultivated even up to the present day.

A large tract of culturable land in the Cuttack district lying in an uncultivated state.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

104. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July observes that during the last Car Festival, passengers and pilgrims were carried in goods carriages like so many goods or chattels. This, to say the least, was not at all fair.

Conveyance of passengers and pilgrims in goods trains objected to.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

105. Referring to a notice issued by the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal, reserving four law scholarships for genuine Uriyas and throwing two such scholarships to open competition by all the natives of Orissa, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July observes that the policy of Government to divide and rule is not at all commendable. It is not known why the domiciled Bengalis, who have settled in Orissa for centuries have been excluded from the class called "genuine Uriyas." It is a pity that Government foments racial feelings

A notice of the Director of Public Instruction in connection with the distribution of law scholarships granted for Orissa severely condemned.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

by giving precedence to one class of people over the other, fully knowing that all are equal subjects of His Majesty. The writer hopes that the correspondence of the Orissa Commissioner with the Government on the subject will bring about better results much more conformable to fairness and equity.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

The bestowal of the title of Rai Bahadur on Dr. Anandalal Bose.

106. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July thanks the Government for conferring the title of Rai Bahadur on Dr. Anandalal Bose, Assistant Civil Surgeon, Cuttack, who has richly deserved this honour. He is a much admired member of the domiciled Bengali community, and is very popular in Cuttack.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd 1909.

The new Regulations of the Calcutta University not favourable to the spread of higher education among the people.

107. The *Utkaldipika* [Cuttack] of the 3rd July regrets that the tendency of the new Regulations issued by the Calcutta University is to put obstacles in the spread of higher education among the people. It may be that the Regulations are good and capable of producing better results in the future, but their immediate effect has been to minimise the number of students, seeking higher education in the Colleges of Bengal. Under these Regulations the Colleges in Bengal cannot admit all those students who are willing to prosecute their studies in them. Thus a large number of students will become disappointed and discontented in the end.

UTKALDIPIKA, July 3rd, 1909.

Entrance Examination results, as shown by the High English Schools in Orissa.

108. After comparing the results of the last Entrance Examination, as shown by the High English Schools in Orissa, the *Utkaldipika* [Cuttuck] of the 3rd July arrives at the conclusion that the Ravenshaw Collegiate School, Cuttack, has shown the best, and the Baripada Higher English School in Mayurbhanj the worst result. It is a matter of congratulation that a Uriya girl passed the last Entrance Examination in the second division.

RAJENDRA CHANDRA SASTRI,

Bengali Translator.

BENGALI TRANSLATOR'S OFFICE,
The 17th July, 1909.

P. S. Press,—17.7.1909—97X—99—J. A, M. & others.

[CONFIDENTIAL.] No. 29 of 1909.

REPORT (PART II)

ON

NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS IN BENGAL

FOR THE

Week ending Saturday, 17th July 1909.

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LIST OF NATIVE-OWNED ENGLISH NEWSPAPERS RECEIVED AND DEALT WITH BY THE BENGAL SPECIAL BRANCH.

[As it stood on 1st January 1909.]

No.	Name of Publication.	Where published.	Edition.	Name, caste and age of Editor.	Circulation.
1	"Amrita Bazar Patrika"	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	K. P. Chatterji, age 45, Brahmin ...	4,000
2	"Behar Herald" ...	Patna ...	Weekly ...	Monmatha Nath Dey, age 40, Pleader of Bankipore.	500
3	"Beharee"	Bankipore ...	Bi-weekly ...	Sham Sankar Sahai, Pleader, and P. P. Sharma of Muzaffarpur.	750
4	"Bengalee"	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	S. N. Banerji, Kali Prasana Sen, age 38, and Kali Nath Roy.	6,000
5	"Bihar"	Patna ...	Weekly ...	Kali Kumar Sinha, B.A., B.L., Pleader of Bankipore, age 35, Kayastha.	750
6	"Hindoo Patriot" ...	Calcutta ...	Daily ...	Srish Chandra Sarbadhikari, age 40, and Koylash Ch. Kanjilal, Pleader, Sealdah Small Cause Court.	800
7	"Indian Empire" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	Kesab Chandra Banerjee, B.A., age 45, Brahmin, and Panchanon Mazumdar, age 35, Hindu Baidya.	1,500
8	"Indian Mirror" ...	Ditto ...	Daily ...	Rai Norendra Nath Sen Bahadur, age 60, Head of the Mahabodi Society.	1,000
9	"Indian Nation" ...	Ditto ...	Weekly ...	N. N. Ghose, age 58, Bar-at-Law ...	500
10	"Indian Tit-Bits" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Satis Ch. Mukerjee *alias* M. Suttie, age 27, Brahmin.	300
11	"Kayestha Messenger"	Gaya ...	Do. ...	Jugal Kishore, age 36, Kayastha ...	500
12	"Moslem Chronicle" ...	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Abdul Hamid, B.A., age 37, Muhammadan.	700
13	"Musalman" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	A. Rasul and M. Rahman, Muhammadans	500
14	"Reis and Rayyet" ...	Ditto ...	Do. ...	Jogesh Chandra Dutt, age 58, a Calcutta house-owner.	500
15	"Star of Utkal" ...	Cuttack ...	Do. ...	Kherode Ch. Roy Chowdhry, age 68, retired Head-master of a Government College.	400
16	"Telegraph" ...	Calcutta ...	Do. ...	Satyendra Nath Bose, B.A., age 31 ...	3,000

II.—Home Administration.

(*a*)—*Police.*

584. The *Indian Empire*, in reproducing the verdict of the Coroner and jury in this case, thinks that it can no longer be denied that there is sufficient ground to suspect the conduct of the police, and urges Mr. Dundas to prosecute the officers concerned and reassure the public, whose confidence in the police cannot but be sadly shaken by such instances of alleged *zoolum* and torture. The journal thinks that in the interests of the public as well as the police the whole case should be sifted to the very bottom.

Naldanga police torture case.

Indian Empire, 6th July 1909.

585. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes:—"The Resolution of the Government of Bengal on the annual report on police administration in the town of Calcutta for the last year is a document that will strike all, considering that the Province is no longer ruled by the policeman's friend. It is full of indiscriminate eulogy of the force. What the Bengal Government has done is simply to echo the self-appreciation lavished on his own department by the Police Commissioner." According to the journal, a serious insinuation has been made that the murderers of Nanda Lal Banerji were screened instead of the police being helped to trace them. This is an absolutely baseless aspersion on the public. If the murderers are still untraced, it is certainly due to the want of detective ability of the police, and it is obviously unfair that, instead of pointing out this glaring example of worthlessness, the police are shielded by means of unjust accusations against supposed persons who could have helped the police had they wished to do so, as the review groundlessly suggests.

Government Resolution on annual report on Calcutta Police.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 8th July 1909.

586. Commenting on the resolution of the Bengal Government on the annual report on the Calcutta Police, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* quotes a passage:—"The conduct of the police throughout this trying year has been worthy of the highest commendation."

Ibid.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 8th July 1909.

The journal wonders how such commendatory remarks could have been made in view of the strictures passed by the High Court on the conduct of the police in connection with the Midnapore and other cases, which apply with equal force to the Calcutta Police as well.

587. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* thinks that this case, which has ended in a fiasco, as well as others, are, indeed, assuming the proportions of a public scandal; and so long as the authorities do not choose to keep a strict and watchful eye on the doings of the police, they will hardly be put a stop to.

The Kalna Arms Act case.

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 9th July 1909.

588. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* observes that the practice of arresting first and collecting evidence afterwards has no doubt made the work of the Indian police very easy, leaving but little necessity or motive to exercise their powers of detection. Not only are their detective qualities undeveloped, but they are often compelled to resort to irregular methods to serve their purposes. It is consequently seen that if this system is proving most dangerous to the people, it has its demoralising effect upon the police too, making them careless, easy-going and incapable. The whole question turns on the material of which the force is composed and its "morale". Unless there is a radical change for the better in these two respects, no improvement can be expected to be effective or lasting.

The Indian police

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 12th July 1909.

(*b*)—*Working of the Courts.*

589. In commenting on the result of this case, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* expresses its opinion that the damages that were awarded were certainly not more than what was merited. In the first place the Lala had been deported under Regulation III of 1818, and that, in itself, explains that there

Lala Lajpat Rai *versus Englishman.*

Amrita Bazar Patrika, 9th July 1909.

was, practically, nothing solid against him. Then, the writer of the libellous matter in the *Englishman* saw that the Government was contemplating the release of Lajpat and, as every one knows, this became intolerable to the paper which wished to prevent it. The *Englishman's* excuse was that it had no malice. Its chief defence, however, was 'justification;' in short, the paper declared that it would prove its statement. Its advisers were apparently moved by the impression that the wronged man was only a "Native" but the wrong-doer, on the other hand, was a leading Anglo-Indian paper which had always supported official action in season and out of season. Besides that, was not the Lala in the bad graces of the Government? So that the *Englishman* possibly thought that it had nothing to fear in an Indian Court of justice.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 10th July 1909.

The Midnapore case.

590. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is of opinion that the basis of the many deportations of good and eminent men has been the so-called "love and affection" of the people for the country, even though it is pictured as disaffection to the State, and has been for sometime almost a matter of axiom with the ruling heads of East Bengal. Now this assumption threatens to be the key-note of the cross-examination of the witnesses at the Midnapore enquiry, and the paper anticipated that Mr. Macpherson would be the last person to allow such a line of cross-examination, as this is a line which, it is high time, should be condemned, not only as most irrelevant, but also as the most mischievous.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 10th July 1909.

Ibid.

591. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, in referring to the Midnapore case, asks if any one can point out in the annals of the world a case which has so many elements of sensation in it as the one under reference. The Indian papers have been frightened, so what they say only gives a very faint idea of the horror that the disclosures in this case created.

The journal is of opinion that it is very lucky that Sir E. Baker followed Sir Andrew Fraser. His advent created a confidence which the Indians had almost lost in the good sense of the Government. The credit is equally due to Sir Lawrence Jenkins who is trying his best to restore the High Court to its original position, it having been utterly demoralized by his predecessor's weakness. The Indians are proud of the High Court of Bengal which deserves the reputation of being the highest judicial tribunal in the world. And this evidence of British judgment was trampled under foot by some of the predecessors of Sir Lawrence Jenkins. If the High Court had any life, the Midnapore anarchy would not have been possible.

INDIAN NATION, 12th July 1909.

Lala Lajpat Rai *versus Englishman*.

592. The *Indian Nation* congratulates Lala Lajpat Rai on his unqualified judicial vindication from a most unmerited and wanton slur, though there was hardly any need for it. The charge of impairing the loyalty of native troops is on the face of it so absurd that it could have found credence only amongst the wildest sensation mongers. There are many such in India, and it is well that they should be disabused and the scurrilous nature of journals which pander to their taste, be exposed. Mr. Justice Fletcher's judgment against the *Englishman* will have a salutary effect on that section of the Anglo-Indian Press which believes in sensational journalism rather than a responsible obligation towards their readers and the public.

(h)—General.

BENGALEE, 4th July 1909.

The Muhammadan deputation.

593. The *Bengalee* considers the attitude of the Government in permitting a deputation of some Muhammadan gentlemen to wait upon it, and to hold a sort of conference with itself or some of its members on the question of Muhammadan representation as quite painful to the other community. Does not this question vitally affect the other sections of the community whose interests the Government has no right to sacrifice or dispose of as it likes, merely because one particular section happens to be the most clamorous of all?

The only inference which one can draw from this occurrence is that some Government officials, at any rate, are satisfied that the Muhammadan agitators are fighting *their* battle better than they could fight it themselves.

Muhammadan representation.

594. In bringing forward the question whether the officials or the non-officials should be in a majority in the Councils, and referring to the representation made by some Muhammadan gentlemen to the Government in Council, the *Bengalee* says:—

"A non-official majority, we have said more than once, can, in the present circumstances, be valuable only if the non-official members are so united among themselves as to resist any attempt on the part of the official members to invade the rights of the public or do any other thing which may be calculated to injure them or thwart the country's progress. If the non-official members are so recruited that they are never likely to be united among them, that a number of them, quite a large enough number to turn the scale, would under all conceivable circumstances be far more likely to agree with the officials than with the general public, the so-called non-official majority would be not only farcical but may at times be positively mischievous. A Council consisting of a standing majority of officials may sometimes hesitate to take a certain course, if it has reason to fear that by doing so it would make itself unpopular with the bulk of the community. A Council with a sham non-official majority will not always feel this sense of restraint because the fact that among its supporters are a number of non-official members will enable the officials to pretend that the course is not so unpopular after all. That is a game quite after the heart of autocratic and bureaucratic Governments. This bureaucracy has played it on innumerable occasions. The winning over of a famous Muhammadan gentleman in the new Province to the side of the partition, who was originally opposed to it, and the several pro-partition demonstrations held in different parts of the country are the latest illustrations of a policy which has grown rather old. Can Indian unity ever be an accomplished fact, if the Muhammadans are to be encouraged to believe, both theoretically and practically, that there is an eternal conflict of interests between themselves and the Hindus? Are not the Hindus really being asked to sacrifice the whole of their future to the paltry advantage of satisfying a small number of their Muhammadan brethren in the immediate present? The unity that is sought ought to be once for all understood to be not mechanical but organic unity—such unity as is possible only through each part of the organism fulfilling its own functions and allowing the other parts to fulfil theirs.

The last question which the paper asks is if the Hindus and other sections of the community are to stand apart and see an important section of Muhammadans gradually isolating themselves from the general community, under the operation of the rule providing separate electorates for them, and identifying themselves, as far as possible, with the officials as against the people at large? It is not because less value is attached to unity, but because more value is attached to it that the Hindus are opposed to either separate or excessive representation of any particular community. What is most wanted is that each should recognise the identity of its interests with those of other sections and associate itself with them for the promotion of a common good and the furtherance of common interests.

Lord Morley's Oxford speech.

595. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that if any ardent admirer of the present Secretary of State for India would collate his utterances, it would make a book of fine phrases, candid admissions, commonplace platitudes and bold assertions; of justification of unjustifiable proceedings, irreconcilable contradictions and glaring inconsistencies; of a sense of personal wrong and self-adulation; and many of these traits have punctuated Lord Morley's late Oxford speech.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 7th July 1909.

In referring to the discussion which took place between Lord Morley and Lord MacDonnell with regard to the partition, and which, according to the Secretary for India, "had inflicted a very serious blow on Lord Minto and himself, and the Government of India who for two years had been upholding the partition of Bengal against great difficulties," the journal asks what necessity there was to uphold an operation "against great difficulties" of which even the Secretary of State "did not think well." If they had not done so, Lord MacDonnell would not have got an opportunity of inflicting a very serious blow on them. Then what are these "great difficulties," and whose creation are they? A new province has been created, which is now found to

be bankrupt and badly-governed, and in which the people are discontented. In the train of this creation has come the introduction of an organized system of police espionage which, obnoxious as it is, has, since its foundation, been simply trying to create opportunities to justify its existence. Men have been deported, and that on information supplied by this secret department of State; probably in the shape of lists of names with allegations and remarks in the next column against each. And it is believed that in order to secure independent consideration several copies were distributed among officials, and such as had more red marks against their names than blue, were deported.

Questioning how and why these men were deported, and how it was established that the nine Indians were guilty of the charge preferred against them, the journal answers: "Because their cases were examined by the Viceroy, the members of his Council, the Lieutenant-Governors, and the District Magistrates. But can any of these high officials take their oath and say that the allegations against the deportees were proved true? We do not suppose they would. It then comes to this that they had to rely on others. And these others, again, had perhaps to rely on their informants. And on these flimsy grounds were the nine Indians deported, and Lord Morley found it possible to justify the transaction!"

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 7th July 1909.

A High Court Bench at Dacca.

596. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* writes: "Lord Curzon promised a good many blessings to the people of East Bengal by his partition measure. They have, no doubt, got many in the shape of police rule and the like, and the day is not far distant when they may be blessed with another. The *Englishman's* London correspondent promises 'further decentralisation by the establishment of a High Court Bench at Dacca.' Evidently the Calcutta High Court has become quite obnoxious to a section of the ruling community; and hence it is not improbable that they should go to burden the already impecunious Government of Eastern Bengal and Assam with such a costly institution as a High Court. But a greater disaster than this can hardly be conceived at the present moment."

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 9th July 1909.

The deportees.

597. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is very much surprised and pained to find that the Prime Minister sought to connect the nine deportees, most of whom are held in high esteem in this country, with a conspiracy for instigating such crimes as assassination of Englishmen. If a newspaper like the *Englishman* had brought such a charge, the deportees on their release could have resorted to the Court and secured heavy damages from it, but the Prime Minister is above all law, and he should therefore never have preferred such a charge unless he was absolutely sure of his ground. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* asks if Mr. Asquith is prepared to make good his allegation in a Court of justice? One may well suppose he is not. It was thus extremely injudicious on his part and unworthy of the exalted position he holds to cast an odious libel upon persons behind their backs, who could not defend themselves and rebut the libels in a Court of Law.

BENGALEE, 10th July 1909.

Muhammadan representation.

598. The *Bengalee* states that since the feeling against the demands put forward by a number of Muhammadan gentlemen on behalf of their community is growing in the country, the Government should, in the interests of all concerned, say what precisely it is going to do.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 12th July 1909.

Ibid.

599. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that, although as an axiomatic truth, the basal principle of British rule in India is equal treatment of all communities without distinction of class or creed yet the authorities are found yielding to the extravagant demands of a few so-called Muhammadan leaders as regards Moslem representation on the Council, thereby striking a blow at the very root of the principle. The other communities in India, while feeling the sting of the invidious distinction made between them and the Muhammadans, have made very little noise over it for fear of exciting race feeling. This silence of self-restraint is, however, being made capital of by the Moslem wire pullers. But there is a limit to everything, and the important political bodies in the country are gradually coming to protest against the action of the Government and to point out its suicidal character in no uncertain terms.

In the protests of the various bodies there is no idea of overlooking the claims of minorities. What the non-Moslems contend for is that there should be no injustice to any section of the population for the sake of pleasing the clamorous, self-styled representatives of the Muhammadans. In these out-of-joint times even the most responsible of the rulers seem to have become too hasty in drawing inferences and forming conclusions and too ready to give ear to one-sided reports and representations. It is this dismal fact that lends a spur to the fears and anxieties of the thinking and level-headed public.

Patriotism and the partition.

600. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* cannot understand the policy of the Government in refusing to appreciate and cherish the innocent partiotism of the people as manifested by the strong feeling in the country against the partition. It thinks every Englishman ought to feel a pride in having been able to rekindle the fire of patriotism in the breast of a people placed by providence in their hands.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 10th July 1909.

Patriotism and swadeshism.

601. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* states that patriotism on the part of the subjects is the most valuable asset to the Government of a country. If each one of the people does not feel an interest in the common weal of the land he lives in, that imposes a most arduous task upon the Government of a country; nay, it almost makes good Government impossible. Fifteen-sixteenths of the discontent, unrest and confusion that have prevailed in India since a few years back are evidently the result of ignoring this great truth on the part of many members of the officialdom. No sooner is one found to have preached the utility of swadeshi, the necessity of physical culture, and the importance of self-reliance, than the Criminal Intelligence Department raises a cry of sedition and treason, sets itself to searching this house and that house, and busies itself in making arrests on suspicions of its own and throws the country into confusion, and this makes even the quiet and indifferent classes of people feverish with excitement.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 10th July 1909.

The doctrine of co-operation.

602. The *Bengalee* regards the policy of "co-operation with Government" advocated by the *Statesman*, not only short-sighted to a degree and based upon an ignorance of the history of political progress in other countries, but distinctly dangerous in its tendency, if preached in this country where the desire for self-assertion is already so weak. It is especially painful to the journal to find its contemporary seeking to revive, in the twentieth century, the long exploded doctrine of the Divine right of rulers. To day, in every civilised country, the proposition is regarded as a commonplace that Governments exist and ought to exist only for the good of the people, that the people are, indeed, to obey them generally so long as they exist, but they have the right to resist them in particular measures, provided only they do not resort to force. The resort to force itself is condemned not because Governments embody Divine wisdom or Divine power, but on utilitarian grounds, because such resort, as a rule, does far more harm than good. In India nobody thinks that the laws represent the collective will of the nation. They may be and in many cases are in accord with the nation's reason, but they are in no case expressions of the nation's will. The man who says that resistance of which the sole object is to get an unjust measure undone or modified, is the "supreme form of illegality" can scarcely be taken seriously. The fact that officials are for the most part British, instead of Indian, is of no moment whatever to the people. It is enough that they are officials, and that they are not in any real sense of the term amenable to popular control. That being so there is little to choose between an indigenous bureaucracy and an alien one. The attitude of the educated community however is not one of active opposition at all. They have repudiated the creed of active resistance in the most emphatic terms, not because they are anxious to save their skins, but because they regard the creed as inconsistent with their traditions, their culture and their moral sense, unnecessary in the present circumstances of the world and positively injurious in its consequences. The historian in the future will fix the responsibility for the creed of active resistance upon others than the advocates of boycott, which, as it has been preached or practised by the people, is an absolutely inoffensive measure. The cases in which individual advocates of the boycott were convicted of illegal

BENGALEE, 10th July 1909.

acts were only a handful, while in the majority of reported cases the so-called boycotters were more sinned against than sinning. The people have never hesitated to co-operate with the Government, wherever co-operation has been possible. It is only in a few cases that they have refused to actively co-operate. If the Government and the people are alike reasonable, there is no reason why from absence of co-operation must proceed any extraordinary degree of unpleasantness, far less resort to violence which cannot but be prejudicial to the best interests of both.

BENGALEE, 13th July 1909.

Limits of co-operation.

603. The *Bengalee* declares that some people will never understand that those who see the limitations of the creed of co-operation are not necessarily hostile to the Government. A nation is an organism and must have independence of action and freedom to choose what it should do in a particular set of circumstances. It can never be permanently committed to one single or simple line of action. It has a definite end before it, and for realising that end, it will have recourse to whatever means may appear to it to be the best in its circumstances. So far as everyday work goes, co-operation, indeed, may well be said to be the rule; for the people in India not being in a position to take up the Governmental function, even if Englishmen were in a fit of generosity to hand over the Government to it, the doctrine of absolute aloofness or of constant and perpetual opposition stands self-condemned. But where a Government has made itself absolutely impossible by its oppression or its positively anti-national tendency, the nation, if it is sufficiently strong and self-conscious, will transform that Government in a very short time into a popular one by refusing to co-operate with it—by opposing it in a passive manner. In India an attitude of constant and perpetual opposition is not possible because only a few would oppose; it would not be desirable because the opposition would serve no useful purpose, but, on the other hand, would embitter the relations between parties whose co-operation, whether conscious or unconscious, where co-operation is possible, is at the present day an indispensable condition of political progress in this country. If the right of refusal is the great source of the Government's revenue, the right of resisting the Government in a passive way is the great source of its strength. It is when a people are free to oppose, that their co-operation can be either strong or effective. The co-operation of a people who are not free to oppose, is the co-operation of slaves. Passive resistance necessarily involves suffering and sacrifice, and in the fact that it involves these heavy penalties, the Government has a legitimate safeguard against such resistance becoming unnecessarily common. At the same time it is clearly distinguishable from active resistance and may in one sense be said to be its modern substitute. Governments may sometimes be transformed by it, but will never be overthrown. It will not touch anybody except the man who practises it, and will not injure one other man, official or non-official. That is its supreme spiritual value. The man who thinks that passive resistance will logically develop into active resistance does not know what he says. He mistakes the essential character of this creed of sacrifice. It is a creed which seeks fulfilment, but does not want to injure or destroy. The right to resist passively is essentially the right to seek fulfilment through suffering, fulfilment of the people in the nation and of the nation in humanity.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 12th July 1909.

The exigencies of the Empire.

604. A correspondent writes to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* giving what purports to be the substance of a letter written by Lord Morley to a friend, in the course of which Lord Morley is supposed to say that if the rulers will not remove "settled facts" nor yield to clamour raised before the grievances had become such, the best course for the ruled is to keep quiet. If they do that there is some chance for them. They should also realize that the "exigencies of the Empire" require that (1) "settled facts" must never be unsettled, (2) the Government must never yield to clamour, and (3) the Government can never afford to be always frank. Supposing, for instance, that the rulers have come to know at last that the partition of Bengal was a mistake, they cannot afford to admit it for the "exigencies of the Empire" require them to adopt diplomacy. The deportation is similarly supported for no other reason than that it is a settled fact, and that there is a good deal of clamour over it.

VI.—Miscellaneous.

605. Commenting on this latest anarchist crime, the *Indian Mirror* writes: "Speaking the frank truth, this horrible crime, perpetrated by an Indian student, is a disgrace to the whole Indian community, although, we are sure, it is reprobated in the strongest terms throughout the length and breadth of the country." What has happened is not altogether a surprise to those who have given any thought to the inciting propaganda which has been carried on in England among Indian students for some time past. Shyamji Krishna Varma has much to answer for, but there are others who have done not a little to incite sedition, disaffection and disloyalty towards the British Government among the Indian students in England. Of late, England has practically been the head-quarters of the extremist propaganda, and in more than one instance has this paper given a warning against the insidious influence which is undoubtedly being exercised over Indian youths, both by men who openly avow themselves exponents of the extremist school, and those who are nothing better than extremists, although they seek to disguise themselves as moderates. Concerning the motive of the murder, the journal states that it was first supposed that the outrage was prompted by some personal grudge, but the later particulars have established beyond a doubt that it was of the familiar anarchist type.

The assassination in London.

Indian Mirror, 4th July 1909.

606. A correspondent, commenting on the callous and stolid bearing and smiling face of the assassin, when the revolvers, etc., were being extracted from his pocket, says that this only shows how irrevocably such young men have gone down; and it is indeed strange that such fanaticism should be manifested by an Indian youth, but it is believed that his mind had been altogether poisoned with anarchist literature and the atmosphere of India House, Highgate.

Ibid.

Indian Mirror, 4th July 1909.

607. The *Indian Nation* writes:—

"Colonel Wyllie's and Dr. Lalcaca's assassination cannot but have a disastrous effect on the liberal policy of Lord Morley and Lord Minto. Following, as it did, the meetings of the Imperial Press Conference, when a most favourable impression had been created on Indian questions, there will be a revulsion of feeling which will be correspondingly to our disadvantage. The path of Indian administrative reform has been arduous enough, but these criminal fanatics will apparently persist in tying the hands of our friends here and at home. A deed such as this dastardly double murder undoes the work of years and brings in its trail consequences which affect a whole nation. The real evil-doers are therefore those who pervert callow youths by drawing them from their studies into the vortex of political propagandism, firing their imagination with criminal ideals under the pretext of patriotism. It is these so-called patriots and the teachers of such patriotism that are our most determined enemies, and every true Indian's voice should be raised against them. That they should be allowed to stand in the way of our advancement is a monstrous presumption, and it is the people of India and not Government that should insist on their removal. We are not as keenly alive to this aspect of the question as we ought to be; and we trust that the recrudescence of political crime in a more revolting form than ever will focus our attention to it. That is the only way to atone for a crime which has no palliation and for which Indian agitators rather than the murderers stand condemned before the world.

The double murder.

Indian Nation, 5th July 1909.

608. Commenting on this recent outrage, the *Indian Mirror* says that the question with which we ought to be first concerned is, who is more responsible for this foul assassination—the actual perpetrator of the deed, or those who, skulking behind the scenes, incited him to it? The facts which have come to light make it quite plain that there are men—the real extremists and anarchists—who have set themselves to poison young minds with their murderous doctrines and to incite them to homicidal acts. This particular young man, it would appear, was a frequenter of Krishnavarma's "India House," and used to attend the

The Jehangir Hall tragedy.

Indian Mirror, 6th July 1909.

meetings addressed by extremistraitors. It has also transpired that before coming to the Jehangir Hall, the young man spent about two hours in the company of extremists, and that the latter plied him with *bhang* and crammed weapons into his pockets. What does all this mean? The conclusion is irresistible that a most pernicious influence is being exercised over our young men in London from a hidden quarter. This influence is exercised, among other things, by writings and speeches.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 6th July 1909.

The London tragedy.

609. Commenting on this occurrence, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* makes the following remarks: "The most valuable possession of man is his life. If, therefore, a man is found prepared to sell his life for a trifle or to satisfy a whim, he must be unlike ordinary men, in short, he is a mad man. It is impossible to control him. The men who murder Europeans in India show full well that they know what they are doing, and are prepared to take the consequences. Was not the man who would commit a murder within the four walls of a prison sure of being hanged? How can the Indians help if one belonging to the nation loses his head and turns as assassin? The foul murder in England has created simply consternation here in India. But, as has been said before, if one of the nation turns mad, how could the others help it?

BENGALEE, 6th July 1909.

The outrages.

610. The *Bengalee*, in a leading article, contends that there is not a responsible organ of public opinion in this country which has not condemned in the most emphatic terms the outrages that have been perpetrated during the last few months. The Indian, in particular, abhors it from the bottom of his heart. His religion teaches him to look upon life as something sacred—as a divine gift to the individual for the good of all individuals. Therefore, the Indian finds not the least semblance of a justification for murder, even when it is committed from a political motive. The regeneration of the country is a highly righteous object—the highest that one can think of in the present circumstances. But precisely because it is so high and noble an object, the Indian recognizes that the means to be adopted for its realization ought to be equally high and noble. But, apart from the question of morality, the Indian knows that political assassination is not the high road to political salvation. Precisely because the circumstances of the people are not normal, many of the officials have thought it their duty to direct the greater part of their active energies to the detection or prevention of political crime, leaving ordinary crime for the most part to take care of itself. The bureaucracy, as has been said more than once, cannot by its very constitution help distrusting a large proportion of the public. Officials may not always find it expedient to say that they distrust the whole people, but they do entertain some sort of suspicion in regard to those who have any public spirit and such movements as make for the development of the people's life. The suspicion does not always show itself; occasionally it does. In circumstances of what looks like an emergency, when panic takes possession of the official mind, the suspicion shows itself in quite an unmistakable manner." That is how the series of blunders which followed one another in such quick succession during the last year and-a-half must be accounted for. The arrest of Babu Arabinda Ghose and so many other innocent men in the Alipore case, the Midnapore case, the Barrah dacoity case, the campaign against the press, particularly against such men as Messrs. Tilak and Paranjpe, the placing of ill-conceived and hasty measures in the statute book, particularly those directed against the freedom of the press and the right of association, interference with the right of public meeting, and, above all, the deportation of men like Babu Aswini Kumar Dutt, Kristo Kumar Mitter and others, were all measures born of panic, which find their true explanation in an attitude of distrustfulness on the part of the average official. The consequence of all this is that not only are the more public-spirited among the people punished for the sins of persons with whom they have nothing whatever to do, but all public movements are paralysed. The repressive policy of Government would not by itself have availed to bring the public movements to their present position. This policy was also tried in Eastern Bengal, but did not succeed. Every step that unwise or short-sighted officials took only stiffened the people's back and encouraged them to redouble their efforts for the country's good. It is only when there occurred strong

cases of terrorist violence, that things took a different turn. What is pointed out is that it was only when the repressive policy was *aided*, for so, indeed, it was, by the acts of violence that the public movements were paralysed and a portion of the people demoralised. The worst of it all is that a man who is distrusted and hunted finds his efficiency considerably diminished in a country where the bulk of the people are yet uneducated, inert as well as superstitious. Not only are the people in their present disorganised state absolutely incapable of dealing with any form of crime, far less with one of this character, but the only means by which terrorism can be coped with, with any assurance of success, rests with the Government. In none of these things can the people do anything. They can only condemn, and they have already condemned the crime, in some cases, certainly in the press and on the platform, with the strongest emphasis, in other cases more or less silently. The rest lies with the Government.

611. In reproducing one of Reuter's telegrams to the effect that Mr. Asquith had addressed a meeting to express abhorrence at this latest outrage, and in which the Premier had denounced the desperate and determined methods of the extremists, the *Bengalee* says that when Mr. Asquith connected the deportees with the acts of violence, he made an utterly reckless and unwarranted statement which has already been not only challenged, but condemned in the strongest terms in this country. Does Mr. Asquith mean to say that the methods of men like Babus Aswini Kumar Dutt and Kristo Kumar Mitter, whose activities were always public, always wholesome, always beneficent, were methods of conspiracy? No more preposterous assertion could be made, and one almost despairs of statesmanship when such an assertion could be made by the British Premier.

BENGALEE, 6th July 1909.

The Premier on the outrage.

612. Referring to the writings of the *Statesman* on the double murders, the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* says that its Anglo-Indian contemporaries make a point of always branding the whole Indian populace as anarchists on account of the mad pranks of a single individual, who was, as in this case, drugged.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 7th July 1909.

The London tragedy.

Continuing on the subject of Shyamji Krishna Varma's being introduced into the scene, the journal says that all this was related only to give the incident a not-one-man character. But even then, the deplorable event becomes the outcome of the personal grudge of two persons—that is all

613. Referring to the assassination of Colonel Curzon Wyllie, the *Indian Nation* says that, while the pronouncement by the London police to the effect that the crime was a personal one and not the outcome of organised political conspiracy, removes the apprehension hitherto entertained of anarchical conspiracies among Indian students in England, the absence of organised conspiracies adds to the gravity of the menace of political assassination. For it would be less difficult to deal with the danger if there was an organisation behind it, than it will be to suppress individual and spontaneous anarchy. As detection is easy so is crime easy, and there are no legal or administrative safeguards which can be devised to protect victims selected by personal malice. The only remedy is the pressure of moral influences which will effectively check the growth of political crime amongst Indian students here and in England. This is the problem to be faced, and the solution rests with the people and not with Government or the police.

INDIAN NATION, 12th July 1909.

The aftermath

The cure consists in creating an atmosphere in the political arena of loyal and steadfast attachment to British rule in India, as the only possible one, a determined and honest intolerance of any form of violence or sedition, and a rigid exclusion of students from the consuming fire of political propagandism.

614. In enumerating all the benefits which this country as well as certain individual sections and communities have derived from the introduction of "Swadeshi" the *Bengalee* remarks that "Swadeshi" has benefited even the police. More pay, less work. Can there be a more excellent arrangement than this? What with the volunteer theory and what with the punitive police, real detective work is considerably at a discount. In cases of dacoity or arson the police have no longer to go through a course of laborious investigation. The volunteer theory is a handy one; and they can, if they choose, work it up with the confident

BENGALEE, 4th July 1909.

"Swadeshi"

hope of obtaining a conviction either on 'their own' evidence or on 'insufficient' evidence from outside."

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 5th July 1909.

Reformed Council rules. Government secrecy.

615. The *Amrita Bazar Partika* states that the executive Council of the Government of India are just now engaged in making rules and regulations relating to the proposed reconstituted Legislative Councils, and that the Government does not seem disposed to consult the public about the matter though the measure of reform is pre-emimently meant for the people. The journal goes on to say that in the whole of the British Empire, India alone presents this queer spectacle—the voice of the party most vitally interested in a public question, though quite able to offer sound advice, is totally ignored, and their fate is decided behind their back by alien rulers who are not exactly immaculate beings, but apt to commit blunders just like ordinary humanity. "Why," says the paper, "should there be so much secrecy in the matter? There is no earthly reason why people should be spirited away from their hearths and homes, and an ominous silence kept over the subject; or that the rules and regulations regarding the Councils Act settled in a secret conclave when they are bound to see the light of day in a short time."

In the opinion of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* the authorities have gained very little in the present instance by their policy of secrecy. They have, on the other hand, only created unnecessary suspicion in the public mind. As has been said before, diplomacy and secrecy may be necessary in a certain class of public questions, but a domestic measure like the reform of Councils is certainly not one of them. On the other hand, the bureaucratic rule is needlessly rendered more unpopular when a policy of aggressive distrust is adopted in connection with a question which is meant to bind the rulers and the people in a closer bond of unity.

BENGALEE, 6th July 1909.

How Anglo-Indian papers do mischief.

616. The *Bengalee* reproduces an extract from the *Englishman*, commenting upon the recent assassination, in which that paper suggests that His Majesty's Government should no longer countenance the unrestricted immigration of Indian youths to England, and should at least cause a thorough investigation into the antecedents of these young gentlemen, many of whom are consumed with a hatred of British rule and all things British.

The *Bengalee* thinks this is an insane suggestion. Because a misguided, desperate and fanatically disposed young man has committed a crime, is the immigration of Indians into England to be restricted? How can such a restriction be enforced without keeping out a goodly number who have as little sympathy with crime as His Majesty's Ministers themselves? Once a limit has been prescribed, it is bound in its actual operation to affect the innocent equally with the guilty, often far more than the guilty. Is that not this country's experience in regard to the operation of the repressive policy? In only a few cases has it led to the discovery or punishment of real criminals; in the majority of cases it has operated only against innocent persons who have either been found not guilty by just Judges or punished by the decrees of the Executive.

The journal thinks that those are not friends of either India or England, who, on an occasion like the present, would say things calculated to turn men's minds away from the fact of the murder and to lessen the indignation which the crime has rightly evoked.

BENGALEE, 7th July 1909.

Faith and fatalism.

617. The *Bengalee*, in a leading article, discusses at great length the criticism to which one of its articles, "Nationalism and Expediency," has been subjected by the *Karmayogin*, and says:—"The cry for expediency, says the writer (in *Karmayogin*), resolves itself into an argument for individual prudence on the part of the leaders. Not so by any means, so far, at any rate, as the cry has been raised by us. All that we demand is that an individual before he sacrifices himself or brings himself into danger or difficulty ought to ask himself if the sacrifice is really needed, if by endangering himself he is helping the fulfilment of the nation. In answering this question for himself, the individual should not only consult his own conscience, but the voice of his nation as expressed through its several organs, and the voice of God as expressed in history and in the experience of humanity."

Again, quoting *Karmayogin*, which says: "There is plenty of fear and demoralisation in the older leaders. There is no need to take thought and labour for increasing it," the *Bengalee* says: "If we were disposed to retort, we might say—'There is plenty of rashness and unreasoning faith in a part of the younger generation, the part, we fear, to which our contemporary is mostly addressing himself—there is no need to take thought and labour for increasing it. In truth, the fatalism of action which we condemned in our article does mischief in a twofold way."

INDIAN MIRROR, 7th July 1909.

The present critical times and our duty.

618. The *Indian Mirror*, in a leading article, says that the recent occurrence in London ought to open the eyes of Indian parents and guardians to the moral dangers which surround their youths in foreign countries. It now becomes the duty of these parents to settle the question of residence for young men in foreign countries in general, and England, in particular. It has been seen what an institution like "India House" is capable of doing, and those who have their young men studying in England should not lose a moment's time in causing due enquiries to be made as to the conditions under which those young men live at present.

This journal thinks it would be well if public men in India, as well as Indians in England, cried a halt to political speeches for some time, as this is having a disturbing effect on young, impressionable minds. It cannot be said that the tone of some of the Indian press is as it should be. Open sedition is rarely indulged in, in the face of the rigorous measures which have been brought into operation, but covered and veiled insinuations and attacks, which are quite as harmful, are unfortunately not rare. It should be remembered that the smallest spark may ignite a whole population, and that being the case, every educated man should deem it his duty to do his utmost to maintain the principles of loyalty to the Crown.

BENGALEE, 7th July 1909.

Selling *bilati* goods as swadeshi.

619. The *Bengalee* regrets that swadeshism is confronted with a new danger, viz., the sale by unscrupulous shop-keepers of *bilati* goods as swadeshi. It suggests that one way to check this practice would be for purchasers to go only to shops where none but swadeshi goods are sold, and the respectability of which is a guarantee that they will not indulge in fraudulent dealing. Some shop-keepers usually sell both *bilati* and "swadeshi" goods, and it is in these shops where one article can easily be passed off for another. In the case of these dealers the journal thinks the way to check fraudulent dealing would be for a purchaser who wants a swadeshi article to insist that the article should be described as "swadeshi" in the cash memorandum.

BENGALEE, 8th July 1909.

The duty of Indians.

620. In the *Bengalee's* opinion the duty of Indians is clear. On one side there are the handful of fanatics who advocate acts of violence. On the other side there are officials who want to perpetuate the present order of things. To both these the Indians must offer a resolute, unflinching opposition.

Continuing, the journal exhorts everyone, who loves his country, to suffer, and try and elevate the nation to his level. If he be a patriot, he should rather be a victim of wrong than do anything wrong himself. The article concludes thus: "To the average official we say:—We know the conflict of interests between yourselves and us. That you are most willing to part with power is, after all, not unnatural. It is possible we should have done the same thing in your situation. But remember the weapon we wield. The moral forces—the forces of the future are entirely with us. Public opinion which is the unresisted and irresistible master of Governments elsewhere will soon be the master of our Government here. You cannot resist that consummation, if you would. Therefore be restrained in the exercise of your power. Do not seek to repress national aspirations. You will never succeed in doing so. It would be to the advantage of England and India alike if you take some little trouble to study the signs of the times and do not set yourselves against the inevitable tendencies of things."

BENGALEE, 8th July 1909.

Mr. Gokhale on the present situation.

621. Referring to Mr. Gokhale's speech, made to a crowded audience at Deccan Sabha a few days back, the *Bengalee* agrees entirely with Mr. Gokhale in his assertions that it is the clear duty of the country—the parents

and guardians of boys as well as the general public—to co-operate with the Government in suppressing the evil.

But it is only when Mr. Gokhale tells the country in effect that there is practically no limit to the amount of political progress achievable under present conditions that he, in a way, lays himself open to criticism. Mr. Gokhale seems to imagine that the only question on the subject is one of character, capacity and qualifications. But how is one to develop his character, particularly his capacity for the exercise of freedom, or to qualify himself for self-Government if the bureaucracy will not place him in a position to do so? No one can be more alive to the defects of national character than the Indian people, and impatience of the British connection has never been a part of the policy of the *Bengalee*. But the question is, how these defects are to be remedied. Are there not qualities which the possession and exercise of the franchise, the consciousness of responsibility the sense of practical control of one's destiny can alone develop? And has not the exercise of rights of common privileges elsewhere tended to obliterate racial distinctions on which so much stress is laid by those who are determined to perpetuate the nation's political degradation? The one serious obstacle in the way is the reluctance of the bureaucracy to part with power. No one knows better than Mr. Gokhale that the theory that officials can labour only under intellectual difficulties, is an exploded theory. How is the conflict of interests between the bureaucracy and the people to be got rid of? Is it to be imagined, in the face of this conflict, that one has only to convince Englishmen of the justice of one's cause for one's objects to succeed? Must one not also appeal to the Englishmen's sense of expediency. Must not the people so organise themselves, so organise the forces of public opinion, bring such pressure to bear upon the bureaucracy, that the path of justice may be to it also the path of self-interest—not the self-interest of individual officials, but that of the nation they represent? That is what the creed of education and organisation, backed, whenever necessary, by passive resistance, seeks to do, so far as its object is political. But the subject here being discussed is not independence, but self-Government. Does any one imagine that self Government itself can be secured without a struggle, perhaps a bitter struggle? Is that the experience of other nations of England herself? What are the weapons on the side of this people? Is it to be merely the ordinary method of agitation? When, as in the case of the partition of Bengal, the voice of a united community is ignored by the Government, when a Secretary of State, from whom much had been expected, makes a settled fact of a measure which he condemns in the same breath, what are the people to do? Can they not resist the authorities, so far as it is possible for them to do so without breaking the law or resorting to violence in any form or shape? That is the great question which the country has got to answer, and Bengal has answered it for herself in an unmistakable manner.

Mr. Gokhale, among other things, supported, at two successive meetings of the Congress, the boycott movement. As a sincere patriot, the paper thinks, he could not help doing so, not only because the resources of customary methods of agitation had been exhausted, but because passive resistance is to-day regarded as among the undoubted rights of civilised humanity. The creed of rising to victory through suffering and sacrifice has, indeed, the high sanction, among others, of the founder of Christianity, and again and again have individuals, whose memory the world will not willingly let die, demonstrated the right, the necessity and the duty of passively resisting constituted authorities, when those authorities did anything that went against the best interests of humanity.

BENGALEE, 9th July 1909.

The police in England.

622. The *Bengalee* compares the London Police with the Calcutta and Bengal Police, and in bringing to the fore incidents created by our police during the Midnapore and Barrah cases, asks what is at the root of this difference between the London Police and the police of this country. According to this journal, the London Police regard themselves, and are taught to regard themselves, as servants of the community, as men accountable not only to their official superiors but to societies and their fellow-countrymen. In this country the police think,

themselves the masters of the situation. Indians are accountable wholly and solely to the bureaucracy, and there is practically no community of life between the higher officers of the police and the people of this country. That is why suspicion of everybody and everything is the rule with the police, a normal attitude of trust is quite exceptional. And all other evils have their root in this.

623. The *Bengalee* wishes to know when the authorities will learn to have proper respect for the judicial pronouncements of the highest Court in the land, and says—"The executive in this country, particularly in the new Province, does not always respect judicial pronouncements." Here is what a Dacca telegram says--"Sasi Sarkar, arrested some days ago in connection with the Barrah dacoity, has been, it is understood, put into a solitary cell in the Dacca Jail. If the report is correct, nothing could well be more discreditable, we might say, more disgraceful. Will the Local Government call for an explanation from the jail authorities, and if necessary, punish those who may be found to be responsible for this piece of illegality—this flagrant defiance of the High Court's interpretation of the law?"

Treatment of undertrial prisoners.

BENGALEE, 9th July 1909.

624. Commenting on Mr. Gokhale's recent speech in Poona, in which he said that patriotism as in other countries must lead the Indian people in their situation to work loyally with the British Government, the *Bengalee* says: "Nobody knows better than Mr. Gokhale that our political programme is and must continue to be an essential part of a much wider and more comprehensive programme— that of evolving a nation in India and making this nation as great, as strong, as glorious as it is capable of becoming, and even in those spheres of life which the Government does touch, there is room for independent activity. Nor is our work to be merely of an independent or supplementary kind. We have often to correct the efforts made by the officials— often to oppose them. Not only are officials not infallible, not only do they suffer from the limitation imposed upon them by their aloofness from the people, but there is often such a conflict of interests between themselves and the people that things can never go on as they should, if we think our duty consists only in working loyally with the Government. It cannot therefore be necessary to remind Mr. Gokhale that constitutional progress has never been achieved merely as a result of the people working loyally with the Government. A resolution on the part of the people to assert themselves at all costs, coupled with a growing determination to put an end, however slowly, to the exercise of arbitrary power on the part of one man or a few, has everywhere been an indispensable preliminary to political progress. If absolute Governments can never as a rule place themselves at the head of nationalist movements, far less can a Government in the situation of ours be expected to do so. We may go so far as to say that except on occasions, when the nation wants to demonstrate its disappointment or resentment at the attitude of the Government by refusing to accord to it a particular form of active support, it might, without prejudice to its interests, co-operate in the carrying out of all measures which, if they do not positively help the cause of progress, at any rate, do not retard it. The only form of co-operation that nationalism can either include or tolerate is co-operation that will either make for progress or at any rate not stand in its way. And the progress it means is progress towards the ultimate ideal—the formation of a nationality in India and the realisation of its life in itself and in humanity."

Nationalism and co-operation.

BENGALEE, 9th July 1909.

625. T. A. Charlu, of Calcutta, writes to the *Amrita Bazar Patrika* as follows: "We receive with great misgivings the views of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale as expressed in his recent address at Poona. It is a long train of vituperation, in spirit and substance, aimed directly and indirectly at the devoted heads of the innocent nationalists. Neither the tone nor the sense of the speech is, and will never be, becoming of an educated man, far less of a leader. In the course of his speech, Mr. Gokhale refers to nationalist ideas in a way that can never appeal to any reasoning minds. He associates these ideas with murder, violence, arson and terror in so many big terms, but he has not tried to single out one instance as a proof of his statement. And why? Because he has none to single out. He

Mr. Gokhale's speech.

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 10th July 1909.

has, we find, swelled the cry of repression with the strength of his voice. He has outwitted even the Anglo-Indians in this particular and joined his might and influence with the forces at work, that are so prejudicial to our progress and detrimental to our legitimate aspirations. Once in his life Mr. Gokhale has been plain, he has been outspoken. People shall no more be misled by him for he has now acknowledged his approval of the drastic measures of the powers that be during the last few years. We are not going to censure him for his views and opinions; we are not going to condemn him for expressing them. But we cannot and will not allow him to wound the susceptibility of men that are at least as wise, as disinterested and as patriotic as he is, by words calculated to poison the minds of the rulers and thereby do them possible harm."

AMRITA BAZAR PATRIKA, 13th July 1909.

Mr. Gokhale's speech at Poona.

626. The *Amrita Bazar Patrika* is of opinion that the bulk of educated Indians regard Mr. Gokhale's speech as a failure. As a matter of fact the sentiments it contains are Anglo-Indian, so much so, that if the authorship of the speech had been kept a secret, very few Indians would have been able to discover that it had been delivered by an Indian leader, much less by Mr. Gokhale. In his previous speeches the latter, in spite of his tendency to please the authorities, had hardly ever failed to point out the plague-spots in British administration in India. He has, however, in his address under discussion, nothing but unqualified eulogy for the rulers, and nothing but unadulterated disparagement of his countrymen. He not only very properly expressed his indignation at the dastardly murder of Sir William Curzon Wyllie and Dr. Lalkaka, but sought to connect, without waiting for further information, the detestable crime with a section of the Indian students residing in England. The authorities cannot be blamed for their drastic measures when they are apt to be misinformed by Indians holding leading positions in society. While admitting that Mr. Gokhale was not actuated by any unworthy motive when he sought to connect the Indian students with the assassination, the journal contends that he was hasty and unwise. Indeed with practically no information before the public, or with only the garbled information of Reuter's agency before it, in which insinuations were cast even upon Lala Lajpat Rai, Mr. Gokhale should have done nothing beyond giving expression to his detestation of the crime, much less to implicate other people, unless he was absolutely sure of his ground. Now that it has been established that Dhingra committed the crime in a fit of madness, it is his duty to contradict his statement as publicly as he made it. His views on the present political situation are, however, regarded as the most objectionable portion of Mr. Gokhale's speech.

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OFFICE OF THE BENGAL SPECIAL BRANCH,
7, KYD STREET,
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